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ABSTRACT

This publication is concerned with the task of developing a strong and balanced structure of services for the disadvantaged at state and local government levels, and it makes the case for a comprehensive program at the community level, specifically. In examining what decentralization would mean for the country's manpower development programs and what steps communities would need to take if a policy of decentralization is to be successful, three sources of material have been drawn on in brief survey: statistical information secured from the Federal Manpower Administration and other governmental sources; public and private reports on training and related programs in different cities; and, personal interviews with officials and close observers of these programs in six cities in the Middle Atlantic Region--Baltimore, Md., Camden, N.J., Chester, Pa., New York City, Philadelphia, Pa., and Wilmington, Del. Specific sections of the publication deal with: (1) Designing a community manpower delivery system (decentralization issue, existing structure, and framework for local manpower policy); (1) Choosing goals and strategies (approaches to and elements in manpower strategy, and policy implications and guidelines); (3) Redirecting existing programs; and, (4) Developing community public employment programs. A select bibliography and statistical tables of relevant data are appended. (Author/RJ)

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Community Manpower Services for the Disadvantaged

By
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Professor Pierson was director of the study *The Education of American Businessmen*, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and coeditor of the survey of wage economics *New Concepts in Wage Determination*. He is author of six other books in the labor field, including *Community Wage Patterns* and *Unions in Postwar America: An Economic Assessment*.

Foreword

A potentially promising development in the evolution of the nation's manpower experience is the recent assumption of manpower advisory and planning functions by state and local governments. With financial support from the U.S. Department of Labor's Manpower Administration beginning in 1970, and with coordinating, administrative, and technical support from special manpower units established for that purpose during 1971 by the National Governors' Conference and the U.S. Conference of Mayors, by mid-1972 manpower advisers and planners were functioning in the offices of the governors of all 50 states and in the offices of the mayors of some 140 cities in all regions of the country. The staffs of these state and local manpower experts in mid-1972 numbered between 1,000 and 1,100.

The stationing of local manpower professionalism is intended to facilitate one of the essential precepts of manpower program decentralization: For the disadvantaged sectors of the work force, the manpower system should be planned and operated at state and local government levels to meet the differing characteristics and needs of these local jurisdictions. If, however, this precept and the potential of local manpower expertise are to be realized, two conditions will need to be fulfilled: (1) The nation will need to set its course more definitively on national manpower policy; reexamine and streamline a large number of fragmented and overlapping manpower programs; establish a system of program standards and a monitoring procedure; decide on a method of manpower revenue sharing; reduce administrative rigidities; and complete the process of decentralization which, between 1968 and 1970 was carried only to the inadequate limits of existing legislation. (2) Local manpower strategies and the development and delivery of manpower services will need to be improved greatly.

This publication is concerned with the second of the two conditions—the task of developing a strong and balanced structure of services for the disadvantaged at state and local government levels. The task would be eased if the proposed comprehensive manpower legislation now before the Congress were adopted, thus hopefully resolving some of the more pressing issues of manpower policy and administration referred to above. But the improvement of community manpower capability cannot await congressional action; and, in any event, if and when Congress acts, the community will be better prepared to deal with the new opportunities if its planning and operating capability is now advanced. Thus, this study helps to meet the needs of the present less-than-perfect manpower world in the absence of a nationally designed comprehensive manpower pro-

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gram, while it at once prepares the local community to embrace an intelligently conceived national policy should that happy event materialize.

It is the particular merit of this guide to the development of a local manpower services system that it makes the case for a comprehensive program at the community level. Professor Frank Pierson, a highly qualified and experienced labor and manpower expert, discusses and analyzes the requisites of designing a comprehensive community program: How to select targets and strategies; how to redirect existing programs to strengthen a comprehensive program; how to deal with new programs such as the public service employment program under the Emergency Employment Act of 1971; and how to adapt these factors to a community's social and political realities, its pattern of economic development, its sources of employment, and its cluster of institutions that can be brought into play for optimum program development. Through this approach, Professor Pierson amply documents and demonstrates the thesis that a comprehensive manpower services delivery system, designed to embrace the range of services necessary for the entire work force of a community, constitutes the most effective framework to deal with the complex problems of the community's disadvantaged sectors.

The Institute gratefully acknowledges the encouragment and cooperation of Mr. John Feild, Director of the Center for Policy Analysis of the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors, whose collaboration at various stages of the study has enhanced its usefulness not only to community manpower planners but also to a broad segment of other practitioners in the spheres of state and local government.

The statements of fact and the views expressed in this report are the sole responsibility of the author. They do not necessarily represent positions of the W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research.

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Associate Director

Washington, D. C.
May 1972

Preface

As part of a general plan to decentralize many of its major functions, the federal government is now proposing to delegate much of the responsibility for manpower training and related services to the state and local governments. This study examines what decentralization would mean for the country's manpower development programs and what steps communities will need to take if a policy of decentralization is to be successful.

Three sources of factual material have been drawn on for this brief survey: statistical information secured from the federal Manpower Administration and other government sources; public and private reports on training and related programs in different cities; and personal interviews with officials and close observers of these programs in six cities in the Middle Atlantic region (Baltimore, Maryland; Camden, New Jersey; Chester, Pennsylvania; New York City; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Wilmington, Delaware).

In addition to Ben S. Stephansky and other members of the Upjohn Institute staff, acknowledgment is made to George Bennett, Laura E. Blankertz, Myrtle R. Keeny, Frederick C. Ribe, and Robert S. Yerger for their assistance in the preparation of this study.

Frank C. Pierson

Swarthmore, Pennsylvania
May 1972

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I. Designing a Community Manpower Delivery System

A single theme runs through most discussions of recent efforts to develop and utilize the country's manpower more effectively: important benefits have been achieved, but performance has fallen far short of expectations. Since its inception after World War II, national manpower policy has shifted direction frequently and dramatically. In the early 1960's the focus was on opening up jobs by stimulating economic growth, bringing jobs to people through area development programs, and bringing people to jobs through relocation assistance. Later in the decade the effort shifted to training the disadvantaged to compete for job openings, subsidizing private employers to hire such workers, and opening new career opportunities in the public service sector. These shifts were chiefly due to changes in the kinds of problems demanding attention, but they also reflected confusion and disappointment over the results of the successive changes in policy directions. While the beneficiaries of the country's manpower programs now number in the tens of thousands, there is no reason to believe that ". . . another package of programs at the same cost could not have contributed more."[1]

Failing clear-cut documentation of criticisms of individual programs, the major response to changing needs has been simply to add new categories on top of old. One investigator recently reported, for example, that he had located 44 publicly financed manpower programs in New York City, but he was not certain even after diligent search that all of the programs had been found.[2] As to national programs, the President's 1970 Manpower Report listed 24 federally assisted training and support programs ranging from training for a few thousand jail inmates to vocational preparation for millions of young people and adults. In the case of the Job Corps, however, criticism did lead to a sharp redirection of policy. In 1969, instead of continuing some hundred residential centers in which many of the enrollees had to live far from home, 59 of the less effective centers were closed, and plans to establish 30 new relatively small cen-

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[1]Garth L. Mangum, *The Emergence of Manpower Policy* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 139. Depending on how the term "manpower" is defined, estimates of the number of individuals benefited by these programs during the decade of the 1960's run as high as 4.5 million.

[2]Economic Development Council of New York City (Robert W. Schleck, Project Director), *New York City's Publicly-Financed Manpower Programs: Structure and Function* (New York: Economic Development Council of New York City, 1970). Commenting on the New York City manpower programs, Dr. Schleck said: "It's like trying to photograph a moving circus. The facts change from day to day." (*New York Times*, January 27, 1971, p. 1.)

ters in or near cities were announced. In other areas, calls for change led to widening the range of services of the various programs rather than redirecting them, while at the same time the number of federally supported programs was reduced.[3]

With the advent of the Nixon administration in 1969, efforts to strengthen manpower policy shifted from devising new programs to improving their administration. The first step was to clarify the lines of authority in the Department of Labor by appointing a Manpower Administrator who would be responsible to an Assistant Secretary for Manpower and to whom, in turn, the regional offices responsible for planning and funding training programs would be accountable.[4] Determination of general policy guidelines remained in Washington, but final authority to approve or disapprove specific proposals was vested in the regional offices. In line with these efforts to streamline and clarify operations, the separate manpower program bureaus in the Department of Labor were abolished, and a single operations arm was created.

The second and far more fundamental development, which is still in process of implementation, was to decentralize manpower training and related services by turning much of the control over to state and local governments. While the exact form of the enabling legislation (following President Nixon's veto of the 1970 Manpower Training Act) remains to be determined, important moves in this direction have already taken place—a development which has had widespread repercussions on the nation's manpower development effort. Further steps in the same direction (for example, "special revenue" or block grants to localities) are under active consideration, so even if Congress imposes important limitations, decentralization looms as the critical issue in manpower policy for the immediate future.

Under the plan to decentralize authority, the governors and mayors are to designate local prime sponsors who in turn will select subcontractors to develop and implement manpower programs in the various localities. The designation of subcontractors and the allocation of funds among individual programs are to be carried out in accordance with statewide and areawide plans developed by state and local area manpower councils, subject perhaps to certain broad national guidelines and priorities. Whatever the division of authority that is worked out between mayors, governors, and federal officials, the key role assigned to the cities and other

[3]Thus the President's 1972 Manpower Report listed 14 federally assisted work and training programs.

[4]This move grew out of proposals developed in the last year of the Johnson administration. Stanley H. Ruttenberg, assisted by Jocelyn Gutchess, *Manpower Challenge of the 1970s: Institutions and Social Change* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970), Chapter 5.

local government units will mark an important turning point in the nation's manpower development effort.

The Decentralization Issue

The case for decentralizing manpower policy along these lines is a strong one and can be briefly stated. Once the national structure for providing training and related services had been put in place, emphasis shifted to determining how these services could best be brought to the individuals immediately concerned. This meant bringing training opportunities and related services into the local areas and communities where the individuals needing training lived and, hopefully, jobs could be found. Failure at this crucial point would negate any possible payoff from the program as a whole.

The shift in authority from Washington to the state and local governments was also a response to the fragmentation and duplication of the existing system. In administering the different categorical programs the Department of Labor has had to deal

> . . . with individual school districts in the Neighborhood Youth Corps In-School program; with City Halls and independent Community Action Agencies in the Neighborhood Youth Corps programs; with rural county governments or agencies in the Operation Mainstream program; State Employment Services and Vocational Education agencies in the MDTA-Institutional program; the Employment Service and Welfare departments with regard to the Work Incentive Program; and with individual employers and unions for MDTA-OJT, pre-apprenticeship and JOBS programs.[5]

Under this structure of organization the Department of Labor had to deal with over 10,000 different sponsors in administering training and related programs within its jurisdiction. The mere task of negotiating contracts with all these bodies from a single Washington office, to say nothing of overseeing their administration and assessing results, proved to be an unmanageable one. By giving more directly involved officials authority to pass on proposals and review operating results, serious fragmentation and duplication among the programs could be considerably reduced.

From the viewpoint of the individual enrollee and his potential employer, the shift to centralized local control would carry important advantages. Under the old system, each program had its own administrative

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[5]George Shultz (then Secretary of Labor), Hearings, Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty, U.S. Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Manpower Development and Training Legislation, 1970* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), Part I, p. 85.

hierarchy with decisions coming from Washington. Under the new, enrollees and employers could turn to local administrators for answers. Instead of being viewed in terms of many separate categorical programs, the individual's entire range of training, development, and job placement needs could be put into a single, integrated context. Training and placement procedures could then be adapted to the individual rather than the other way around. Logical linkages could be established between the different stages or aspects of the individual's career development. With a more responsive and flexible system, the enrollee could move more easily from one type of training or support to another as circumstances required. The needs of employers could also be reflected more quickly and accurately in such a system, with local firms in more direct contact with administrators who determine policy. Instead of many public and private organizations competing to place enrollees with the same employer, hiring of such workers would be consolidated and much troublesome duplication of effort thereby avoided.

Hardly less apparent are the pitfalls and limitations attending this development. In a field in which political favoritism and pressure-group jockeying are inescapable, any move to widen the influence of governors and mayors could accentuate jurisdictional rivalries and paralyze effective action. Experience in such related areas as education, urban renewal, and welfare could hardly be cited in support of the wisdom of the move. In fact, in these areas some reasonably clear guideposts exist for state and local government administrators to follow. In the training and placement of the disadvantaged, there are few established rules of the game; if local administrators are given control, the present confusion could well be compounded.

Another and more serious criticism is that few state and municipal governments have either the machinery or personnel to undertake this difficult responsibility. In the face of the many other claims on their financial and staff resources, the likelihood of their being able to take effective hold of manpower programs in their jurisdiction seems at best problematical. The critical question in many instances will be whether qualified staff can be found: the number of administrative executives able and willing to direct such undertakings is miniscule, and the number of persons qualified for appointments to training staffs is not much greater. Unless an all-out effort is made to mobilize talent and train capable staff members, the entire effort is likely to fail. Vigorous action is called for at all levels of government to meet this staffing crisis, but first and foremost, leadership in "training the trainers" must come at the federal level.

A further question is whether decentralization would follow traditional political jurisdictions and, if so, whether manpower development programs could be effectively mounted on this basis. In many localities labor

market relationships are intercity or even interstate in character. Decentralization would tend to strengthen traditional barriers to putting manpower training and placement on a broader and more realistic basis. Here again, greater local control could well spell retrogression unless new links were forged between existing governmental units.

Whether experience will, on balance, confirm the supporters or the critics of decentralization is of course an open question. There can be no debate, however, on the need for careful advance planning and action by state and local governments in close collaboration with the federal government if the shift in control is to prove successful. Only where there is clear evidence that a state or local governmental unit has the capacity to assume this additional responsibility should such a shift in control occur. Otherwise, the diffusion of authority among hundreds of government bodies will simply increase the difficulties which already beset many of the programs.

The Existing Structure

The major programs and institutional facilities that are available to communities to carry out training and placement activities are by now well known and can be quickly summarized. As currently understood, the government's manpower development effort is chiefly addressed to helping persons who suffer from generally recognized educational, cultural, or other handicaps to find work or move up in the job-career structure.[6] A broader and perhaps more traditional definition would include preparation for any and all jobs or careers, but ever since the passage of the Area Redevelopment Act of 1961, which sought to reduce the competitive disadvantage of individuals looking for work in depressed areas, public-supported manpower development efforts have largely centered on those considered in special need. In fiscal year 1971, about 93 percent of the enrollees in federal manpower programs were poor and otherwise disadvantaged.[7]

Distinguishing between a narrow and a broad definition of manpower development poses difficulties in specific cases. Pre-college high school preparation and liberal arts undergraduate programs are not usually

[6]As defined in federal government publications, "disadvantaged" means poor, not having suitable employment, and *either* (1) a school dropout, (2) a member of a minority, (3) under 22 years of age, (4) 45 years of age or over, (5) handicapped, or (6) subject to special obstacles to employment. As of 1972 a nonfarm family of four is defined as poor if its annual income does not exceed $3,800; a nonfarm individual is defined as poor if his income does not exceed $1,900.

[7]*Manpower Report of the President,* 1972, pp. 58-59. For a breakdown of enrollees by demographic and other characteristics, see Appendix Table 1 in my study.

treated as aspects of manpower development. While training for blue-collar and white-collar jobs would be, the great majority of persons preparing for such openings cannot be considered disadvantaged; in their case responsibility for training for specific job openings is largely left to the employers, private or public, who need their services.

In addition to difficulties of definition, the distinction between a narrow and a broad approach to manpower development poses difficult policy issues as well. In periods when job opportunities are plentiful, serious hardship in finding worthwhile employment is largely limited to the disadvantaged. When job opportunities become scarce, however, important barriers in the search for jobs confront other groups as well; in such periods government-supported manpower programs inevitably take on a broader orientation. In fact, under these circumstances, many problems related to training the disadvantaged, such as the need for better transportation facilities, better job information, and better job design, apply to a broad cross section of the nation's labor force.[8] While this study focuses on training and placing the disadvantaged, many of its findings also apply to other categories of workers.

The two biggest government manpower programs by far are the Training and Employment Service activities of the Department of Labor and the vocational education and rehabilitation programs of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; but only a fraction of these programs concerns the disadvantaged.[9] Other federally supported manpower training and placement activities rest on these two programs. The Department of Labor, in cooperation with the Office of Education, supports classroom training as well as on-the-job training (OJT) in a variety of skills under the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA).[10] The on-the-job training part of the program was greatly broadened in 1968 when the Department of Labor joined with the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB) to establish the Job Opportunities in the Business Sec-

[8]Professor Bakke has stressed the importance of viewing manpower policy as an "integral partner" in a full roster of governmental policies, arguing that "the narrow *de facto* operational definition now given to manpower policy" threatens its progressive development. E. Wight Bakke, *The Mission of Manpower Policy* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: The Institute, 1969), p. 3.

[9]In fiscal year 1970, the Training and Employment Service reported that 4.6 million applicants for nonfarm placements were received, of which nearly 1 million were disadvantaged. As of 1967 it was estimated that about 10,000 of the Service's 30,000 personnel dealt with the disadvantaged. Such comparisons are not possible for vocational education, but the proportion represented by the disadvantaged is certainly much less. *Manpower Report of the President,* 1971, Table F-16; and Sar A. Levitan and Garth L. Mangum, *Federal Training and Work Programs in the Sixties* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan-Wayne State University, 1969), Pt. III and p. 349.

[10]MDTA-OJT was renamed Jobs Optional Program (JOP) in fiscal 1971 when administration of the program was passed to the states.

tor program (JOBS) which through subsidies or other inducements seeks to induce employers to train, hire, and upgrade disadvantaged workers.

The Department of Labor also is responsible for administering the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) in-school, out-of-school, and summer work-experience programs, as well as the Job Corps centers, both of which were established under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. Likewise, the Department, in cooperation with the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, is responsible for the Work Incentive Program (WIN) which provides work experience and supportive services to public assistance recipients. Finally, the Department of Labor operates the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), a coordinated effort in special innercity slum areas where job placement, training, and related needs are greatest, and the Public Service Careers (formerly New Careers) program which seeks to provide job opportunities for disadvantaged workers chiefly in federal, state, and local government.

All of these programs are available to individual communities in such combinations and amounts as overall budgetary conditions and individual locality considerations indicate. Some notion of the relative size of the various programs can be seen in Table 1.

Total federal expenditures for these programs were running slightly over $2 billion per year by the end of the 1960's as against about $500 million as recently as 1964, but it should be reiterated that large parts of the Training and Employment Service and Vocational Education budgets are not concerned with training the disadvantaged. Excluding these latter two budgets, total federal outlays on manpower programs came to $2.3 billion in fiscal 1971 and are projected to rise to $3.3 billion in 1972 and to $4 billion in 1973 (see Appendix Table 2).

Statistical information on federally supported manpower programs, by communities, has only recently become available. If city and smaller communities are expected to exercise anything like effective control over manpower development activities within their jurisdictions, detailed data on operations of the various programs, by local areas, are an absolute essential. Table 2 indicates the relative importance of individual programs in 12 large cities as well as the shifts which have occurred in the last three years (see pages 10-11).

Most of these 12 cities showed some increase in overall program enrollments after 1968, the largest occurring in Detroit and Atlanta. In one instance, Los Angeles, there was a marked decline; in three others (Baltimore, Cleveland, and Houston) there were slight declines in total enrollments. Turning to individual programs, absolute as well as relative enrollment decreases occurred after 1969 in a number of the cities in Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) and the Concentrated Em-

Table 1

Federally Assisted Manpower Training and Support Programs Fiscal Year 1971

Program	Enrollees (thousands)	Federal obligations (millions)
Vocational Education	[a]6,224	[b]$415
U.S. Training and Employment Service	[c]3,597	[b]347
Vocational Rehabilitation	[d]468	[b]523
Manpower Development and Training		
Institutional[e]	156	264
On-the-Job Training[f]	99	60
Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (federally financed)	93	169
Neighborhood Youth Corps		
In-school	120	58
Out-of-school	[g]53	115
Summer	567	[h]253
Job Corps	50	160
Work Incentive Program	112	64
Concentrated Employment Program	94	167
Public Service Careers[i]	47	92
Operation Mainstream	22	72

Source: Office of Financial and Management Information Systems, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, and *The Budget of the U.S. Government, Fiscal Year 1973.*

[a] FY 1970; excludes home economics students.

[b] Actual outlays.

[c] Nonfarm placements.

[d] Estimate of the number rehabilitated.

[e] Includes part-time and other training.

[f] Includes MDTA-OJT which ended FY 1970 (except for national contracts) and which was renamed Jobs Optional Program (JOP).

[g] Includes work training in industry.

[h] Includes obligation of $83 million in fiscal year 1971 made available by MDTA supplemental funds.

[i] Includes Plans A, B, C (New Careers), D, and E (STEP). The five programs in the Public Service Careers are described in Chapter IV, pages 72-73.

ployment Program (CEP), while striking increases occurred in some cities in the Work Incentive Program (WIN) and the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) in-school program.

A Framework for Local Manpower Policy

As authority over manpower policy toward the disadvantaged is decentralized, communities will have considerable latitude in choosing how

best to approach the training and placement issue. It is therefore vitally important for each locality to select a course of action which will best meet its particular requirements. For this purpose it will be necessary to decide on the basic elements that would enter into a fully effective local program—an ideal model against which actual and proposed programs can be compared.

In the face of the diverse manpower objectives and approaches which prevail at the national level, there is a natural tendency for localities to follow a permissive policy of letting individual groups work out whatever arrangements they can with the federal funding authorities. This is the very outcome, however, which the national government is presently determined to avoid. Instead, every locality is expected to develop a positive manpower policy of its own. This means that whatever difficulties and ambiguities may be involved, each community will be called upon to put together as effective a set of policies as circumstances permit.

To this end, a community must make sure that its training and placement programs fit into a unified system of services which at the same time allow for considerable diversity and flexibility. Both unity and diversity are required because individual trainees need to be able to come in and go out of the system at many different levels and to move easily among many points within it. Thus, in a fully functioning community manpower services structure, the disadvantaged would find it possible to meet job or career requirements at whatever level their need may be. Employers would find it possible to reach persons of disadvantaged background seeking work and to hire them on either a trial or career basis. Those who could not meet usual job standards would be helped, through training and special work experience, to develop the capacities that they would require to enter the regular job market. The overall outcome of such a system would be that the requisite human and physical resources would be brought together at the different levels of need in a manner which would yield *maximum benefits* with *minimum resource inputs*.

Investing these broad generalizations with specific content is the critical issue confronting a community. The term "maximum benefits" would suggest that the underlying objectives of the community's manpower effort and, perhaps more importantly, its various subobjectives, are clear. The term "minimum resource inputs" suggests that the community's policymakers know the different possible combinations of *means* that are available for achieving these objectives; it suggests further that the policymakers have the skill or good fortune to choose the particular combination of means which secures these results most efficiently and effectively.

Judging from most impartial investigations, these three requirements for effective performance have not generally been met—and by an as-

Table 2

Current Absolute and Relative (Percent of Total) Enrollments in Manpower Administration Programs in 12 Large Cities for the Fiscal Years 1969, 1970, and 1971[a]

City	All programs			MDTA Institutional			MDTA-OJT[b]			JOBS[c]		
	1969	1970	1971	1969	1970	1971	1969	1970	1971	1969	1970	197
Boston												
Current	4,815	4,301	5,139	664	534	778	138	19	—	510	857	43
Percent	—	—	—	13.8	12.4	15.1	2.9	.4	—	10.6	19.9	8.
New York												
Current	17,368	26,634	19,106	2,448	1,994	2,820	849	455	166	3,649	7,006	4,17
Percent	—	—	—	14.1	7.5	14.8	4.9	1.7	.9	21.0	26.3	21.
Baltimore												
Current	6,071	7,080	5,893	307	299	204	475	327	—	544	926	39
Percent	—	—	—	5.1	4.2	3.5	7.8	4.6	—	9.0	13.1	6.
Philadelphia												
Current	6,918	8,200	10,521	399	350	399	751	571	—	780	666	46
Percent	—	—	—	5.8	4.3	3.8	10.8	7.0	—	11.3	8.1	4.
Pittsburgh												
Current	4,518	3,700	5,991	638	197	412	96	91	—	358	411	17
Percent	—	—	—	14.1	5.3	6.9	2.1	2.4	—	7.9	11.1	2.
Richmond												
Current	696	868	1,468	43	44	16	194	257	—	—	28	23
Percent	—	—	—	6.2	5.1	1.1	27.9	29.6	—	—	3.2	15.
Atlanta												
Current	1,694	2,645	6,384	90	214	261	39	—	21	320	954	72
Percent	—	—	—	5.3	8.1	4.1	2.3	—	.3	18.9	18.9	11.
Chicago												
Current	10,799	11,928	12,302	1,516	877	1,246	118	98	34	2,160	4,766	3,15
Percent	—	—	—	14.0	7.4	10.1	1.1	.8	.3	20.0	40.0	25.
Detroit												
Current	10,073	10,247	16,681	1,338	703	824	1,118	919	32	2,619	4,015	1,31
Percent	—	—	—	13.3	6.9	4.9	11.1	9.0	.2	26.0	39.2	7.
Cleveland												
Current	4,250	3,743	3,779	182	218	565	69	250	—	408	664	61
Percent	—	—	—	4.3	5.8	15.0	1.6	6.7	—	9.6	17.7	16.
Houston												
Current	5,164	3,714	4,637	419	506	266	178	233	—	675	984	39
Percent	—	—	—	7.7	13.6	5.7	3.4	6.3	—	13.1	26.5	8.
Los Angeles												
Current	18,758	15,734	10,898	2,382	554	1,348	1,016	603	—	2,109	3,113	1,51
Percent	—	—	—	12.7	3.5	12.4	5.4	3.8	—	11.2	19.8	13.

Source: Office of Financial and Management Information Systems, Manpower Administration, U.S. Departme

[a]Enrollments in Operation Mainstream program included in totals for New York and Detroit but not list through May 1971. [c]Data as of May 31 for the year indicated. [d]Includes summer enrollees. [e]Data throu

WIN			CEP			NYC in-school			NYC out-of-school		
1969	1970	1971	1969	1970	1971	1969[c]	1970[c]	1971	1969	1970	1971[d]
954	1,260	1,610	2,009	1,062	2,135	376	414	47	164	155	132
19.8	29.3	31.3	41.7	24.7	41.5	7.8	9.6	.9	3.4	3.6	2.6
2,807	8,283	9,653	[e]456	[e]189	189	3,421	4,743	—	2,905	2,309	1,804
16.2	31.3	50.5	2.6	.7	1.0	19.7	17.8	—	16.7	8.7	9.4
1,142	1,758	2,081	[f]1,289	1,922	854	1,716	1,317	1,786	588	531	423
18.8	24.8	35.3	21.2	27.1	14.5	28.3	18.6	30.3	9.7	7.5	7.2
946	2,563	2,631	2,146	2,436	1,028	1,403	1,279	5,507	493	335	489
13.7	31.2	25.0	31.0	29.7	9.8	20.3	15.6	52.3	7.1	4.1	4.6
575	789	1,667	1,035	766	860	1,448	1,243	2,622	368	203	121
12.7	21.3	27.8	22.9	20.7	14.4	32.0	33.6	43.8	8.1	5.5	2.0
188	330	329	—	—	—	98	77	553	60	37	48
27.0	38.0	22.4	—	—	—	14.1	8.9	37.7	8.6	4.3	3.3
—	386	376	482	353	249	513	522	4,196	250	216	223
—	14.6	5.9	28.5	13.3	3.9	30.3	19.7	65.7	14.7	8.2	3.5
842	1,219	4,544	1,494	578	530	3,294	3,427	1,379	1,375	972	885
7.8	10.1	36.9	13.8	4.8	4.3	30.5	28.7	11.2	12.7	8.1	7.2
1,455	2,157	2,075	[g]1,242	282	2,292	1,518	1,459	9,421	783	712	576
14.4	21.1	12.4	12.3	2.7	13.7	15.1	14.2	51.5	7.8	6.9	3.5
338	870	1,223	1,772	444	709	966	957	—	515	340	514
8.0	23.2	32.4	41.7	11.9	18.8	22.7	25.6	—	12.1	9.1	13.6
—	68	416	3,083	1,129	1,031	522	597	2,262	287	197	266
—	1.8	9.0	59.7	30.4	22.2	10.1	16.7	48.8	5.6	5.3	5.7
7,472	630	6,027	1,629	[c]958	947	2,837	3,115	—	1,019	854	833
39.8	40.1	55.3	8.7	6.1	8.6	15.7	19.8	—	5.4	5.4	7.6

[a] Labor.
[e]parately; JOBS data are by metropolitan areas; WIN data, by counties; all other programs, by cities. [b]Data ecember 1969. [f]Data through February 1970. [g]Data through April 1970.

cending order of difference in the three cases: objectives remain ill defined; alternative approaches are even less clear; and, most serious of all, actual policy choices depart widely from optimal performance criteria. It can be argued that these results were inevitable since many of the programs were new, that there was little tested knowledge about the field, and that the need for dramatic results (or the appearance thereof) was felt from the start.

Notwithstanding these conditions, after more than eight years of experience, manpower training and placement of the disadvantaged as a national effort now rest on a more solid base—the more obvious failures and successes, at least, have been identified and the broad alternatives to policy are much better understood. Two developments, however, can be counted on to keep these issues the center of continuing controversy and uncertainty. First, shifts in the economic climate, such as the recent rise in unemployment, will pose new questions and difficulties for the program. Second, as already noted, the decision to turn over much policy-making authority to the states and cities will give rise to a number of serious problems; unless these problems are well handled, the manpower development effort could retrogress or even founder completely. It is one thing to outline what are the main components of a fully effective community program and quite another to adopt the specific measures which will bring effective results. The quest for some underlying set of principles to guide communities in the development of their programs, therefore, becomes a first order of business in this field.

Broadly stated, communities will be called on to perform four major functions in this area: plan manpower development goals for the disadvantaged, choose among available means for meeting these goals, monitor operations of the specific programs selected, and evaluate their results. Each function deserves careful and continuous attention; failure in any one will undercut a community's entire manpower effort on behalf of the disadvantaged.

Planning Manpower Development Goals

The first function is to set goals which embody the purposes set forth in national manpower policy legislation and at the same time are addressed to the particular locality's special needs. The general thrust of national policy is to provide the disadvantaged full opportunity to secure the preparation they require to get decent jobs and pursue meaningful careers. Because individuals enter the job- and career-preparation process from so many different starting points; because career opportunities, to say nothing of specific job openings, shift so rapidly and are so widely scattered; and because hiring and entrance requirements vary so greatly,

a quite elaborate training and placement structure with many points of entry and exit cannot be avoided. This makes it doubly important to design a system in which any given individual can move easily into and out of different training-placement channels and categories, in accordance with a career-development plan which makes sense for him.

In deciding on specific manpower policy objectives which will further this overall goal, a community will need to get answers to such questions as the following: Who are the target population groups in the community? What are their education and skill characteristics? What are the current and projected job trends in the area? What are the community's present facilities for meeting the manpower needs of the target groups? What are the nature and extent of the gaps between existing and desired performance?

The tendency among most local government units will be to set goals that are either too grandiose or too easily achieved. If setting local program goals is to be more than a perfunctory exercise, it is essential that a variety of possible manpower objectives be carefully analyzed and compared, that the relevant data and arguments be systematically reviewed, and that full opportunity be afforded to the major interest groups (including spokesmen of poverty groups, business firms, labor unions, and citizen organizations) to participate as members of a manpower planning council in the choice of goals. It is especially important that the mayor or his designee serve as chairman of the council. Otherwise, meaningful results are unlikely to emerge.

Choosing Means To Meet Goals

The second, and closely related function, is to develop policies and procedures which will meet the special needs of a given locality as effectively as possible. Here again, the different approaches embodied in national legislation provide communities with the principal tools for implementing policy, but the task of choosing the most effective combination of training and placement strategies is being left increasingly to local determination. Obviously, this choice should be determined insofar as possible by the particular circumstances which prevail in a community and the specific manpower development goals which have been decided on. The strategies appropriate to a predominantly black population in a one-industry town in the South, for example, are not going to fit the training and placement needs of a predominantly white population in a major metropolitan area in the North. Among the local policy questions to be answered are: How much emphasis should be put on private as against public sector initiatives? On institutional as against on-the-job training? On prevocational or basic education as against traditional vocational or

skill training? On full-time training as against "coupled" work-training? On entry-level jobs as against higher level career openings? On blue-collar or factory jobs as against white-collar or service job placements? On training for existing jobs as against restructuring old jobs and creating new ones?

The success of a locality's manpower effort depends on whether professional know-how can be geared into the thinking of the community's leadership in working out answers to these questions. In contrast to the first function of deciding on goals of manpower development, which is largely a social or political question, deciding on specific policy approaches should have a heavy input of professional or technical expertise. It therefore is essential that a central manpower office be established in a community with a director and supporting professional staff to carry out the goals decided on by the mayor and his manpower planning council. The main function of this office would be to decide on specific manpower policy directions and annual contract allocations.

It would also be essential for the central manpower office to assist in the difficult task of finding and developing capable personnel for the various manpower programs. As noted earlier, the staffing needs of these programs are so serious that federal leadership is clearly required, but action at the local community level is also needed to make sure effective measures to develop capable staffs get underway. As experience accumulates, a community might well decide to assign other program-support responsibilities to its central manpower office.

Monitoring Operation of Programs

The third function is to determine whether administrators of specific programs are meeting certain operating procedures and targets. As in any administrative structure, success at the operating level of a manpower development program turns on finding administrators with the skill and judgment to carry out particular program purposes, and on giving these administrators the necessary scope and authority to perform this function. As long as they continue to have the confidence of the central manpower office established to review their work, program directors must be free to adopt the measures they consider most effective in realizing the goals of the individual programs.

At the same time, the central office would need to keep close enough to day-to-day operations to know what major problems are emerging, where changes in policy direction are beginning to occur, and how breakdowns in organizational effectiveness can be avoided. Any general monitoring of program operation would require that the oversight office spell out the basic performance tests which a program administrator would be

expected to meet and then determine whether such tests have in fact been met.

What is perhaps the most intractable issue in the entire field of manpower training and placement is how to maintain adequate coordination among the administrators of the various programs. Vesting authority over funds allocation in the mayor and central manpower office should go a long way towards meeting this problem within a given locality, but the acceptability of their allocation authority over available manpower funds will depend, in turn, on how well grounded this group is in the operational realities of the different programs. The other approach to coordination—the one largely relied on until now—is for the various program administrators to work out jurisdictional rivalries and other questions on their own. Informal arrangements of this sort, especially in smaller communities, can be quite successful, but they can hardly serve as a general pattern. Where neither approach to coordination proves possible, some form of outside intervention either by federal or state authorities would become necessary.

Evaluating Results

The fourth and last function is to establish procedures for the community's central manpower office to evaluate individual programs in line with similar evaluation of the work of that body by the federal government. This would require going well beyond the auditing entailed by conventional monitoring procedures. Evaluation deals with the much broader question whether particular programs are reaching their targets by the most effective means available. In many instances the state of the art is not going to allow precise evaluation results; indeed, there is a real danger that emphasis on quantitative evaluation will lead to the pursuit of short-run, narrowly defined results at the expense of more basic, but less visible, long-run objectives.

The fact remains that the job of evaluation has to be carried out by one means or another; thus, the case for doing it as carefully as possible, and making sure that policymakers pay attention to the results, is irrefutable. Effective evaluation requires that program goals are clear enough to permit performance testing. There must also be a basis for comparing performance under alternative approaches to the same goal. Reliable data are needed in sufficient amounts and detail to make sound judgments possible. Beyond this, the results of the program evaluations have to be put before responsible administrators in ways that can be used effectively. Explicit steps will be needed to achieve this outcome; at the national level too little attention appears to have been given to linking evalu-

ation to policymaking—and with predictable results.[11] The same outcome could well occur at local levels of administration.

To the extent that policy and administration of manpower programs for the disadvantaged shift from the federal government to the local community, new dimensions will be added to the evaluation function performed by the federal government. Presumably, national reviews and reports of particular programs will still be needed but, in addition, assessments of each community's overall manpower development effort will now be required. This will entail examining how programs are chosen and how funds are allocated, whether the community's central manpower office has maintained effective controls over the use of funds, whether that office has been able to identify strong and weak elements in the different programs, and, most important of all, whether subsequent policy decisions by the central office conform to evaluation findings and recommendations.

Whatever the degree of decentralization which Congress finally decides on, whether through block grants or some other device, provision for federal review along these general lines seems essential. It would be neither logical nor sensible to continue funneling funds into local manpower development programs which have proven to be demonstrably ineffective and where repeated warnings have brought no corrective action. This would not require detailed federal surveillance of all aspects of a community's programs, but it would require close enough familiarity with local area performance so that any federal action could be both informed and timely. Thus, the federal government's principal responsibility, aside from maintaining adequate accounting controls, would be to determine whether a community is moving ahead or falling behind in its overall effort to provide adequate manpower services to the disadvantaged. A review of a community's performance in terms of the four functional responsibilities just discussed contains the essential ingredients for such a general determination.[12]

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[11]In discussing the low utilization of evaluations in manpower training and 14 other programs, one study cited four basic reasons: organizational inertia in the face of change, methodological weakness in evaluation reviews, design irrelevance, and lack of dissemination of evaluation results. Joseph A. Wholey, and others, *Federal Evaluation Policy: Analyzing the Effects of Public Programs* (Washington: Urban Institute, 1970), pp. 50-51.

[12]In his March 1971 special revenue-sharing message to Congress on manpower, President Nixon said that the state and local governments would have to submit to audits and publish annually statements of projected uses of funds before receiving their shared revenue. It seems likely that Congress will question whether under these circumstances the Secretary of Labor would be able to make sure that the funds would be used effectively. (*Wall Street Journal*, March 5, 1971, p. 2.)

Six Levels of Action

This review will have meaning only insofar as it is brought to bear on specific phases of a community's total manpower effort. Top policymakers in the community will need to be kept informed continuously about the content and direction of developments at each level of training and placement. Six such levels may be identified:

1. Neighborhood outreach: overcoming psychological and other barriers to use of services.
2. Prevocational and basic education: providing general work-orientation and remedial learning skills.
3. Job skills and career progression: helping to meet requirements for specific jobs and career opportunities.
4. Job placement and development: matching jobseekers and jobsuppliers and restructuring jobs more in line with the capacities of available workers.
5. Allowances and supportive services: training allowances, hiring subsidies, travel, day care, health services, and legal service aids.
6. Private and public job creation: cooperating with private and public employers to provide part-time or full-time work opportunities in private industry, government agencies, and nonprofit institutions (hospitals, public safety, recreation, schools, etc.).

To establish a manpower delivery system which will effectively meet the needs of the disadvantaged, a community must carry out the four functional responsibilities noted earlier on all six of these fronts. Ideally, the resulting structure would provide a coherent but flexible range of services, subject to a central coordinating leadership but responsive to grassroots needs and pressures. The bare outline of such an ideal system is relatively easy to formulate. Much more difficult is the devising of the strategies which will actually put the components of such a system into place.

Even this brief review makes clear what a complex and elusive undertaking this is bound to be. Experience in a number of communities, however, reveals that well-thought-out programs under capable leadership can be developed; where this has happened, the results have been strikingly successful. Even at this early point in the development of local manpower programs, communities should be actively encouraged to move ahead in this vitally important area.

II. Choosing Goals and Strategies

To develop an effective manpower system for the disadvantaged, a community needs not only to establish a strong and balanced structure of services but also to select clear-cut goals and efficient means for achieving them. The choice of goals and means must go together as part of a general strategy which a community decides to follow in this area. Choosing the overall strategy will largely turn on how serious are the manpower needs of a community's disadvantaged population and whether far-reaching steps will be needed to deal with them. As with designing the structure of its manpower services, a community's choice of manpower goals and means for realizing them cannot be divorced from the particular economic and social context in which the choice has to be made. Differences among communities will of course carry quite different strategy implications, but there are some general guidelines and considerations common to all.

The most important overall consideration is whether a community's economic and social framework is basically favorable or unfavorable. If all the requisite conditions for a fully effective manpower effort are present—expanding job opportunities, employers who are training- and development-oriented, workers who are job- and career-oriented, a broad career-supportive educational system, and a flexible training structure designed to meet changing employment needs—, few additional steps will have to be taken on behalf of the disadvantaged. All that will be necessary is to give such workers a chance to become participants in the skill-developing, jobfinding process. When these conditions are not present, however, much more far-reaching measures will become necessary, and wholly new institutional arrangements will have to be developed. Any decision by a state or community to provide training and related services to the disadvantaged is itself a step in developing such measures, but the issue of how far-reaching these measures will be and by what means services will be provided remains to be resolved.

The key questions that will then have to be answered are: Should the community's effort center on those persons within the disadvantaged category who are near the bottom or near the top of the education-income structure? Should attention center on developing the most basic and general kinds of capacities of such individuals or on specific, more immediate jobfinding skills? Should emphasis be concentrated on the "supply" characteristics of disadvantaged workers or on the "demand" possibilities for their services? If the latter, should the major effort be to find openings for disadvantaged workers in existing job structures, to modify these structures in the interest of such workers, or to create a wholly new range of jobs for them? Finally, should the various training and support activ-

ities have a predominantly private- or public- and nonprofit-sector orientation?

The answers to these questions, whether formulated explicitly and systematically or implicitly and on a piecemeal basis, will determine the main thrust of a community's effort to train and place the disadvantaged. As indicated earlier, these questions have generally been treated in a haphazard, fragmented manner. Until they are brought within an overall strategy aimed at an explicit set of goals, communities will continue to flounder in their efforts to provide more effective services in this area.

In devising such a strategy, a community faces a difficult dilemma: in providing manpower services it will need to treat workers as individuals as much as possible, but as a practical matter it will not be able to avoid dealing with the disadvantaged in groups, often of considerable size, in the interest of establishing uniform rules and practices as in any other large-scale organizational effort. The success of whatever strategy is chosen will largely depend on how well a community reconciles the respective merits of an intensive versus an extensive policy in the delivery of manpower services.

Four Approaches to Manpower Strategy

In this connection there appear to be four approaches open to a community: Under the first approach a community's strategy would be largely shaped by the distribution of political and social power within the area; under the second approach its strategy would be determined chiefly by the requirements for its economic development; under the third approach its strategy would depend on whether conditions of supply or of demand with respect to disadvantaged workers are emphasized; and under the fourth approach its strategy would depend on whether a market or an interventionist emphasis is chosen. Each approach has a contribution to make towards a coherent policy of manpower development of the disadvantaged, but each suffers from certain limitations as a single guide to action.

Distribution of Political and Social Power

In developing its manpower policy towards the disadvantaged it is axiomatic that a community give considerable weight to the comparative political and social influence of the major blocs within its population. Shifts in the political potency of any major group—whether large or small business firms, higher or lower skilled workers, poor whites or poor blacks—will necessarily affect the shape and direction of community activity in this sensitive area. Since the interests of these groups in developing manpower training and support programs will in varying degree con-

flict, the power balance that obtains among these groups within a community will significantly influence the planning and implementing of its manpower programs.

Viewed in this light, current efforts to provide training and related services to the disadvantaged can be considered as a response to the increased status and influence of this group. Thus, manpower programs at the local level, as well as at the state and national level, can be expected to reflect this new configuration of power. Their power would affect not merely the setting of general goals for these programs, but also the carrying out of specific decisions and the handling of daily operations as well. It would mean bringing the disadvantaged groups into a policymaking role in these programs commensurate with their enhanced status in the community's life.

The impact of this approach is seen most clearly where a large proportion of a community's population suffers serious cultural and economic handicaps and the likelihood of their acquiring the skills needed to compete for the available jobs is remote. In terms of straightforward economic resource analysis, the case for extending training and related services to such submerged groups might appear dubious; but in terms of the political and social importance of these groups, the case could be altogether convincing.

While clearly important to the success of a community's manpower effort, this approach would be both too narrow and too general to serve as the only guide to community action in this field—too narrow in that considerations other than sheer political power would necessarily make themselves felt, and too general in that such terms as "power" and "influence" lack sufficient content or specificity to serve as a meaningful guide to policy. As experience in a number of cities attests, factionalism among poverty groups can effectively block action even if political factors in an overall sense have shifted in their favor. Whatever the political climate in a community, the response of employers to training and job placement programs is obviously crucial. Any crude politicizing of the programs would therefore necessarily be self-defeating. While constituting one strand in policy formulation, and perhaps even serving as a general starting point, this view does not provide a satisfactory framework for determining which manpower development programs deserve emphasis and which do not.

Requirements for Economic Development

A second approach is to view a community's manpower policy towards the disadvantaged as an aspect of the area's economic development needs and prospects. Where economic trends are essentially favorable, policy

would center on removing the tangible and intangible barriers which hem in the disadvantaged. Training and support activities would be built around the "growth points" of the local economy. Fundamental changes in economic policy with respect to capital supply, taxation, transportation facilities, and the like would be unnecessary in these circumstances; rather, major emphasis would be placed on widening the immediate job and career horizons of the disadvantaged.

On the other hand, where economic trends are adverse, attention would necessarily shift to more fundamental economic issues—supporting laggard firms, attracting new firms, improving shopping areas, and strengthening public services. Manpower policy towards the disadvantaged, as an aspect of human resources development, would also have to deal with more difficult issues such as replacing obsolete skills with a new range of abilities, opening wholly different categories of employment, and greatly broadening the usual range of job movement both occupationally and geographically. Under these circumstances the role of the state and federal government would necessarily bulk much larger than if economic development trends were favorable.

This approach is a good deal more specific, and probably more realistic, than the first view of a community's manpower policy. Thus it carries quite definite implications for the relative effectiveness of different policies towards the disadvantaged in certain circumstances; in rough terms at least, it may even provide the basis for predicting what policies in what situations will prove successful.

Unlike the political balance approach, the emphasis here is on increasing the adaptability of the community's work force to the requirements of a developing and therefore changing economy. Ultimately, this could well entail working with the most disadvantaged or "least adaptable" members of the labor force, but the first order of business would presumably be to improve the quality of disadvantaged workers who are already well along in the training process and/or give evidence of being adaptable to workday responsibilities. Thus the entire emphasis of the two policies could be diametrically opposed.

Even in the economic development approach, however, analysis is apt not to yield very meaningful guidelines for a community's manpower policies. In most localities, economic trends are uncertain and unclear. A thorough economic profile of a major city like New York, Chicago, or San Francisco becomes hardly less complex and confused than a profile of the entire economy. When account is taken of areawide and regionwide links, even a profile of a small, well-defined community is apt to yield a mixed picture.

More importantly, the manpower development needs of disadvantaged

workers pose questions of social values which cannot be subsumed under a community's economic development needs. In some long-range or general sense the two sets of needs may coincide, but there is no assurance that this will be the case. Where they do not, it would be arbitrary in the extreme to insist that the former needs must be made subordinate to the latter. To build a community's manpower policy towards the disadvantaged around this one consideration would admittedly simplify, but hardly clarify, the issues involved.

Supply Versus Demand Emphasis

According to a third view, the choice of manpower policy towards the disadvantaged would depend on whether emphasis is placed on the supply characteristics of the disadvantaged or on the demand possibilities for their services. A community leaning to the former emphasis would treat the demand structure and demand trends as given and concentrate on adapting the supply characteristics of the disadvantaged accordingly. A community choosing this emphasis, which is close to the traditional view of manpower training, would focus most effort on helping the disadvantaged acquire the skills, habits, and attitudes needed to find jobs and pursue meaningful careers wherever and whatever those jobs and careers might be. Conversely, if a community chooses to emphasize demand possibilities, the supply characteristics of the disadvantaged would generally be treated as given; and attention would then be concentrated on adapting the structure of demands to meet available supplies.

This latter view *may* collide with widely accepted notions about the optimal distribution of labor and other resources, especially if the "created" jobs require more workers to achieve the same output as before, but this need not necessarily be so. If all costs and benefits, social as well as private, could be calculated, the most economical approach to utilizing the disadvantaged workers in a given situation might well be to redesign existing job requirements or even create "new" career openings for which such workers could qualify. There is nothing necessarily optimal, even in a straightforward economic sense, about the level and structure of a community's demand for disadvantaged workers just because a certain level and structure happen to exist at a given moment of time.

This approach gives a more precise guide to manpower policy than the two preceding views, and makes greater allowance for shifts in employment and other labor market conditions. Again, however, it cannot be used as the sole basis of choice. Clearly, difficulties would arise if it were applied too mechanically, if for no other reason than it would tend to put major stress on short-term market conditions. The issues raised by support programs for the disadvantaged entail far broader considerations

than could possibly be subsumed under the headings of "supply" and "demand" alone.

Then too, in most situations both the supply and demand aspects of aiding the disadvantaged need to be attacked at one and the same time. A two-sided problem, frequently as much an aspect of conditions of supply as of demand, generally exists. On one side is the inability or unwillingness of employers to utilize disadvantaged workers effectively; on the other side is the inability or unwillingness of such workers to do what is necessary to find productive employment. While the specific issues raised are different, the underlying question to be resolved on both the supply and demand side of manpower programs is the same: What supplementary services beyond those provided by existing institutions are needed to open up meaningful career opportunities for the disadvantaged? While helpful in highlighting one of the key considerations, the distinction between a supply as opposed to a demand emphasis provides too limited a framework for formulating an adequate response to this question.

Market Versus Interventionist Emphasis

A fourth view would base manpower policy towards the disadvantaged on the extent to which a community chooses to rely on existing market mechanisms as opposed to new, interventionist instrumentalities and institutions. As indicated at the outset, any publicly financed effort to broaden employment opportunities for disadvantaged workers can be viewed as a departure from self-regulating market principles, but the extent and form of the intervention are of critical importance. Some measures, such as providing better information to disadvantaged workers about job openings, are fully congruent with a market allocation system; others, such as providing public service jobs especially designed for the disadvantaged, clearly go beyond market principles as usually defined. While some manpower development measures on behalf of the disadvantaged are less easy to classify in this way, the principle involved is crucial to a community's choice of a manpower strategy.

It needs to be emphasized that this way of viewing the choice of policy will not yield clear and complete answers in any automatic fashion; it merely provides a rough kind of positioning of different types of manpower programs in terms of a generally understood set of principles. The specific points at which a community chooses to fix these programs will reflect a wide range of considerations, three of the most important having just been noted.

The advantage of using this frame of reference is threefold: (1) It is directly addressed to the different aspects of a community's manpower development activities; (2) it emphasizes the various possible relation-

ships that may obtain between manpower aids for the disadvantaged and aids for all members of the labor force; and (3) it allows for differing results or weightings, depending on particular circumstances and influences. A distinct shift, for example, in the distribution of political or social power in favor of the disadvantaged within a community, or in the prospects for a community's general economic development, or in fundamental supply and demand conditions as they affect a community's disadvantaged labor force would have a direct impact on how far a community would move away from a market to an interventionist posture in its manpower policies. The value of this approach can best be judged, of course, when it is applied to more specific choices.

Functional Relationships in a Community Manpower System

A number of the country's manpower development activities on behalf of the disadvantaged—probably the most important ones—are carried on as part of a general system of services designed to help all workers find job openings, make longer term career choices, and move up in various career areas. This broad system of supports constitutes the central channel of manpower development which, from the viewpoint of the public authorities, can be designated as Intake, Job Referral, and Job Placement —Career Progression. This central channel consists of a quite simple but comprehensive system of public instrumentalities in support of traditional labor market relationships: Jobseekers and jobsuppliers are provided extensive information and other direct but limited aids to help them match market offers, but both the initiating moves and the final decisions are left to them. As noted at the outset, in a generally prosperous, smooth-functioning local economy a limited system of supports of this sort would presumably prove quite sufficient.

A community, however, may decide to introduce another level of supports which, while benefiting the disadvantaged and in some instances designed chiefly in their interest, would nevertheless contain important benefits for the labor force as a whole and would constitute no more than a limited departure from existing market allocation arrangements. Examples of this type of support activity are broader outreach activities in poverty neighborhoods, special informational programs such as the computerized Job Data Bank system, and efforts to win the support of private firms to redesign jobs and expand career opportunities for a broader range of workers. A move to this level of activity would reflect a failure on the part of unregulated markets and existing institutions to meet the community's needs fully. At the same time it would not reflect a serious breakdown in their capacity to cope with most issues in the manpower utilization field.

Finally, a community might decide to introduce a third level of manpower services which would be designed almost exclusively for the disadvantaged and which would mark a sharp departure from traditional market processes or established institutional arrangements. These services would include special educational programs, skill training centers, day care and health aids, specially designed job opportunities, and public employment programs—all on behalf of the disadvantaged. A move to this level of support activity would be associated with serious economic and social difficulties which more moderate measures had failed to resolve. The accompanying chart indicates how these three levels of activity would be related to one another in a general system of community manpower services.

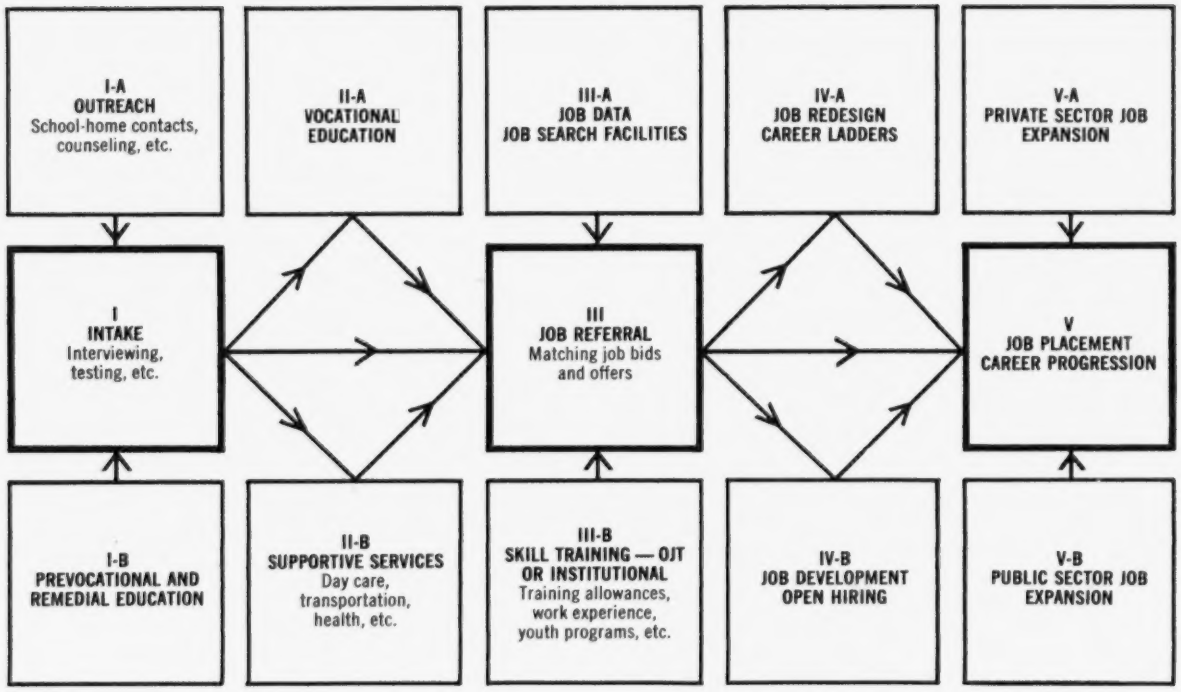
The functional relationships set forth in the chart are largely self-explanatory, but some of the important policy implications suggested by the chart are worth noting. While the general positioning of the functions at the three levels just noted is reasonably clear, specific variations or features could give them a quite different significance. Voluntary efforts by private firms to expand employment of the disadvantaged, for example, would be an intermediate level function, but these efforts would have a quite different significance if they were heavily subsidized by the federal government.

Similarly, the directional arrows and numberings on the chart indicate the more important relationships that exist between different functions, but individuals could move among the different parts of the system in a wide variety of ways. Thus, while the Prevocational and Remedial Education function (I-B) is most closely related to Intake (I), in individual instances it may be closely related to Job Referral (III) as well. Other relationships than those indicated would also apply in particular situations.

Three Elements in Manpower Strategy

Historical developments largely explain the relative emphasis which the nation's cities and towns are placing on these three levels of public-supported manpower services at the present time. Intake, Job Referral, and Job Placement—the central manpower services shown on the chart—were the three functions most closely related in a historical sense to the general needs of employers and workers, and these are the services for which public facilities are currently the most fully developed. To the extent that the upper level functions shown on the chart (I-A through V-A) are also related to the needs of a broad cross section of the nation's employers and workers, facilities for these services come next in degree of development, but this hardly holds true insofar as they are related to the needs of the disadvantaged alone. Indeed, with respect to their needs,

Major Functional Relationships in a Community Manpower Training and Placement System



manpower activities have centered primarily on immediate job referral, jobfinding, and job-preparation services (III, III-A, and III-B on the chart), rather than on either the earlier or later phases of such services.

This way of looking at the range of policy options open to a community in choosing a manpower strategy points to three key elements in arriving at a final decision—the scope of policy, assignment of responsibility, and determination of specific program objectives. A community should examine each one of these elements insofar as possible in an objective, systematic way.

Determining the Scope of Manpower Policy

As already indicated, to the extent that communities have developed an overall strategy towards manpower development, they have until now leaned towards a quite narrow view of their role in this area of community services. Their choice of a narrow focus is readily understandable. It is in line with functions for which there is the greatest amount of tested knowledge and accumulated experience; it is concerned with immediate and concrete needs for better matching of job offers and job bids, better information on job openings, and better skill training in specific occupational categories; and it is addressed to that segment of the disadvantaged population which could make quickest and most practical use of existing labor market opportunities. It is not surprising that most factual studies —cost-benefit investigations, management system analyses, attitude surveys among employers and employees, and the like—reinforce this emphasis; after all, this is the aspect of manpower support policies on behalf of the disadvantaged for which relevant evidence is most easily found and in which workers who are relatively far along the job-readiness road are likely to make a good showing. The implication for community policymakers is clear: If maximum net tangible gains as measured by the most readily available facts are the desideratum of manpower development programs, attention should be concentrated on that portion of the disadvantaged work force which is most ready to assume the responsibilities of daily work.[1]

A community, on the other hand, which decides to center attention on the needs of the most seriously disadvantaged (or least job-ready) members of its work force would adopt a quite different strategy. Its main ef-

[1]While evaluation studies of different training programs (for example, the comparative effectiveness of short versus long training periods) generally support this view, not all the data point in this direction. On the test of comparative gains in earnings, a recent investigator concludes: "Judging from this analysis, the most disadvantaged gain the most from training programs." Garth Mangum, *The Total Impact of Manpower Programs: A Four-City Case Study*, Vol. I, Summary of the Final Report, Olympus Research Corporation (Springfield, Va.: U.S. Department of Commerce, National Technical Information Service, 1971), p. 39.

fort would center on overcoming the physical, social, and attitudinal barriers which block many of the disadvantaged from finding and holding decent jobs. Efficiency or cost-benefit considerations would of course still apply but in a context of opening up career opportunities for those who, while potentially capable of holding a job, have not even been able to take the first steps necessary to obtain one. While some methods for dealing with the most seriously disadvantaged are clearly more effective and more economical than others, conclusive evidence is hard to come by. Even if it were not, this way of looking at the manpower development needs of the disadvantaged puts the entire question of a community's manpower policy in a quite different light.

In choosing between a narrow versus a broad definition of its target population, a community would probably not want to go so far as to devote its entire manpower development effort to disadvantaged persons who are already well along in job preparation since presumably employers would be willing to provide training for many of these persons anyway. At the other extreme, it would be equally questionable for a community to concentrate all its services on persons who are so seriously handicapped that there is little likelihood they could ever qualify for regular employment. In their case other forms of aid, including medical treatment, family counseling, or straight-out income supplements would be needed. Thus, it may be taken as a general guide to manpower strategy that a community would concentrate most of its manpower services on the middle zone of its disadvantaged population—the large group which would require substantially more in the way of training and other supports than employers would be willing to provide on their own. While still comprising a large section of the disadvantaged population, this would at least mark an important step towards a sharper delineation of a community's manpower strategy.

Whatever the precise scope of manpower policy which a community decides upon, periodic factual profiles should be prepared of the size and characteristics of major target groups (for example, youth groups, unemployed, underemployed, employable, handicapped, and public assistance recipients with children) and of employer manpower needs in major industries and skill categories. It is essential that the data be organized by specific poverty areas so that the profiles can be brought to bear on concrete policy choices. Important progress has been made in this regard in some large metropolitan centers, but much work remains to be done.[2]

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[2]See, for example, Opportunity Centers System, 3, *Employment Trends and Demographic Study* (New York, N. Y.: Manpower and Career Development Agency, undated), mimeographed. The data in this study were grouped by 11 target "regions" so that the number of persons in need of manpower services and the percentage of such persons in relation to each region's total population could be determined (see table in Chapter 1, page 20).

Assigning Responsibility for Delivering Manpower Services

As communities have broadened the groups to be served by manpower programs, the range of services provided by these programs has also broadened. In terms of the functions shown on the chart, this has meant giving increased attention to the pretraining and post-training aspects of manpower development. Neighborhood outreach efforts are being made to enlist young people and other ghetto residents in training programs and to provide counseling and other support services; efforts are also being made to offer remedial education and vocational programs especially designed for the more seriously disadvantaged; similarly, explicit efforts are being made to open new career opportunities for some of the hardest to place, even to the extent of assigning them jobs for which more qualified applicants are available. Almost all the major organizations involved in training and related programs, including the Training and Employment Service, MDTA Skill Centers, Concentrated Employment Program, Job Opportunities in the Business Sector, and Opportunities Industrialization Centers, offer a broad spectrum of services in addition to direct training. Nonetheless, such services generally remain on the periphery of manpower development aids for the disadvantaged.

The way in which these additional services are provided poses a difficult organizational problem for a community, especially if it is a big metropolitan center. Should each of the various manpower programs offer a full range of training and related support services on the assumption that each serves a quite different clientele, or should each program concentrate only on a single, closely knit set of functions, or should already established institutions "take back" responsibility for the various services —basic education, health care, job placement, and the like—which traditionally were in their jurisdiction but have been taken over by newer organizations?

Common sense would point to the last-mentioned course of action wherever the longer established institution gives reasonable promise of doing the job effectively. Where an already existing organization is offering a similar service to other groups, it should at least be required to set up a largely independent unit to deal with the particular needs of the new groups. If the needs of particular target groups can be clearly defined and if a specific strategy for meeting their needs can be agreed upon, a long step towards resolving these problems will have been taken. In many instances, it will be all too apparent that a wholly new approach is required and that a specially designated center or facility should be established. For example, wholly new facilities had to be developed for the MDTA Skill Centers to get the programs off the ground. In the case of the job-placement function traditionally carried out by the Employment Service, another placement program would be largely duplicative. In some less

clear-cut cases where existing organizations are utilized in the interest of economy, disadvantaged clients are afforded scant attention, if indeed they are reached at all.

Where wholly new facilities have to be established or even where existing institutions are given added responsibilities for meeting the needs of disadvantaged groups, it is imperative that steps be taken to avoid any further cutting off of the disadvantaged from other sections of the population. This entails granting administrators of manpower programs considerable latitude and independence in fashioning approaches for dealing with the disadvantaged which depart radically from established procedures whether the procedures have been developed by the Employment Service, the public school system, or any other well-established institution. Careful planning is needed to make sure that the disadvantaged are brought into active association with the nondisadvantaged and the community at large whenever and wherever this can be done effectively. Obviously, this is an issue for which no single, simple rule of action can be devised and to which a community must address itself with utmost care.

A related question pertains to the degree of physical decentralization which should be adopted for various services: Should facilities be concentrated at a few major locations even though the target population is widely scattered or should there be a large number of locations even though facilities at any one location might have to be quite limited? Where expensive equipment is involved, as in medical care facilities, decentralization cannot be carried very far; but few manpower services fall into this category. Wherever possible, the different services should be within easy physical reach of the major target groups even at the risk of some duplication of effort. The most important requirement in this regard is to establish a large number of informational and referral centers in poverty neighborhoods which would guide persons to the particular type of aid they need; ideally, the guidance function should relate to the entire range of a community's social services (welfare, public health, etc.) and not to manpower services alone. The centralization-decentralization issue, as well as the relationship between the new manpower services and already established institutions, is critically important but can be dealt with more effectively in the context of redirecting existing programs, the subject of the next chapter.

Even in the most carefully balanced structure of services, individuals will often be required to move between one manpower program and another or between a new program and some long-established institution in a related field. Persons from disadvantaged backgrounds frequently find referrals of this sort extremely formidable and most difficult to carry out. One of the most important contributions a community can make is to see

to it that strong linkages are developed wherever referrals and transfers are required. Often this entails a degree of individual treatment and detailed recordkeeping which poses real problems, but such problems are minor compared to the dropout and other costs that would otherwise obtain.

In devising a general approach to the structural aspects of a local system of manpower services, a community should weigh the particular type of service to be supplied, the adequacy of existing facilities for providing it, the location and other characteristics of the target groups who need it, and the relationship of this service to other services and needs. The fact that conflicting considerations will inevitably be involved in deciding a given case makes it all the more important to weigh the elements that go into each decision carefully, with particular reference to how each service fits into a community's entire manpower development effort. Again, these issues will be seen in a clearer light in the next chapter where the question of redirecting existing programs is examined.

Establishing Specific Program Objectives

In formulating a community manpower strategy, specific targets should be set for individual programs and functions by which policy can be guided and appraised. Failure to set such targets has probably been the most serious difficulty in implementing manpower policies in many communities. Lacking definite formulation of what each program is designed to achieve—the particular groups to be served, the needs to be met, the time period within which objectives are to be realized—and considering the effects of changes in resources, in market conditions, and in other manpower programs on a given program's role, policy can hardly be other than haphazard. Jerrybuilt structures of services are the inevitable result. What is called for is not ambitious yet amorphous formulations of objectives about self-help, career fulfillment, or a new consciousness among the disadvantaged, but realistic targets and guideposts for determining effective program performance.

The community's responsibility in this connection is to make sure that the targets set for the various manpower programs add up to a balanced total structure, avoiding over- and underemphasis on any major group or function. For this purpose a continuing review of what the target group's needs are, how existing programs relate to them, and where the most serious gaps are should be maintained. Beyond this, the community needs to consider how individual programs can be adapted more completely to the system as a whole and how the opportunities afforded by the programs can be brought more effectively to the target groups not being reached.

By and large, experience demonstrates that programs addressed to goals which are clear enough so that specific implementing policies are indicated, and realistic enough so that specific program standards can be formulated, are much more likely to achieve substantial results than programs lacking these attributes. Vocational rehabilitation work for the physically handicapped and language training for foreign-born workers are widely cited as being among the most successful programs in the manpower field. Striking results in certain communities have also been achieved under manpower training programs for Vietnam veterans as well as programs for court offenders in New York and other cities.[3] Many factors were involved in the success of these programs, but clearly three of them were that the target group under each program was well defined, the objectives of each program were clear, and the policy guidelines for each program were sharply articulated. Admitting the serious difficulties involved, it is essential that these same elements be worked into other manpower programs to the greatest possible extent.

Policy Implications and Guidelines

Applying these three elements in a community's manpower strategy to particular situations calls for flexibility and imagination since surrounding conditions differ so widely. The two major principles to be kept in mind are (1) that the various programs and functions should be geared closely to the needs and characteristics of the particular disadvantaged groups for which they are designed, and (2) that any manpower services afforded the disadvantaged should be made an integral part of the total range of such services afforded a community's general working population. While not antithetical, these two principles cannot be satisfactorily reconciled without careful advance planning and deliberate policy followup. Experience in a number of communities suggests certain guidelines to be kept in mind in implementing these two policy principles.[4]

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[3]For example, in a program to help 20 returning veterans in New York City pass a federal civil service examination, 17 were successful—a rate of 85 percent as against the usual pass rate of 8 percent. *New York Times,* May 9, 1971, p. 53. In another New York program 850 court offenders who had been temporarily released were given intensive training and other aids to see if they could get back on their feet; 725 of the first 850 participants completed the project as of October 3, 1969; of these, 283, or 39 percent, of the total had their charges dismissed; and out of every 100 job referrals, 44 resulted in hiring. Vera Institute of Justice, *The Manhattan Court Employment Project, 1970,* pp. 43 and 53.

[4]Materials underlying these principles, as noted earlier, were drawn from government statistical reports on manpower programs in major cities, intensive public and private investigations of the more important national programs, and numerous personal interviews with manpower officials in six cities in the Middle Atlantic Region in 1970 and 1971. These six cities are Baltimore, Maryland; Camden, New Jersey; Chester, Pennsylvania; New York City; Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and Wilmington, Delaware.

Differentiating Among Disadvantaged Groups and Individuals

1. Where communities go beyond the first two levels of manpower services and attempt to meet the needs of the more seriously disadvantaged, they are obliged to cope with problems of an individual, highly personal nature. At the other two levels of services, individual motivation and personal qualifications are assumed to be adequate—all that is needed, supposedly, is to make sure that the disadvantaged individuals are provided with the same job information and general job preparation which are made available to all other workers. At the third level, however, an effort is made to develop or alter the work habits, productive capacities, and even life styles of disadvantaged enrollees. Frequently such programs as Prevocational and Remedial Education and such supportive services as day care, transportation, and health care (I-B and II-B on the chart) are designed to reorient personal behavior and attitude patterns of individuals many of whom may be either openly or covertly hostile to any change. On the "demand" side, hardly less serious difficulties beset efforts to restructure employer personnel practices through job development and open hiring (IV-B on the chart) and to open up new job opportunities for the disadvantaged in government through Public Sector Job Expansion (V-B on the chart); in these instances deeply ingrained behavior patterns—not only of private employers but of union officials, government administrators, and entrenched groups of jobholders as well —have to be altered in quite fundamental ways. In this respect Skill Training—OJT or Institutional (III-B) poses fewer difficulties than any of the other third-level functions; significantly enough, such training is closely identified with one of the second-level functions, Vocational Education (II-A).

The distinction between a market and an interventionist emphasis provides a useful approach to resolving the dilemma noted earlier between treating disadvantaged workers on an individual, differentiated basis as against a general, undifferentiated basis. As already indicated, when a community moves from the first to the second and on to the third level of manpower services, increasing attention must be paid to the disadvantaged as individuals—their particular needs, problems, attitudes, and potentialities. At the same time, a community cannot be expected to treat the training and placement of every disadvantaged person as a separately analyzed, fully documented clinical case. Procedures obviously must be devised to distinguish between those disadvantaged persons who are virtually "job ready" when they first register for interviewing and placement and those who are in need of much more intensive counseling and support. Indeed, many offices of the Training and Employment Service have set up as many as four or five levels of training and support services for the disadvantaged, each level providing more personalized

and intensive treatment than the one before. While admittedly far short of providing a complete answer, this appears to be the most promising way to resolve the organizational dilemma noted earlier.

2. In an effective training and placement system, every disadvantaged participant clearly sees progress at each functional step either in terms of his immediate financial betterment or his long-term career goals. Unless explicit incentives are provided at each stage via on-the-job experience, added financial help, or advanced technical preparation, disillusionment will quickly block further effort. If a job is not available in a line related to the individual's training, the degree of resource waste and personal demoralization becomes serious.

While perhaps applicable to all workers, this applies with special force to the disadvantaged because their experience and environment are so often failure-oriented. What would be a minor disappointment to a culturally favored person could well constitute an overwhelming blow to a culturally deprived person. This is a strong argument for linking each stage of training or other support to a parallel job experience for which "fair compensation" would be provided. If this is not practicable, some other form of benefit or concrete recognition should be built into the programs, an admittedly difficult objective for prevocational or general education preparation.

It is no less important for the disadvantaged person to face the responsibilities of the workaday world and his personal life, but this can be done only in an environment in which he has reasonable hope for success, or at least hope for something more than mere survival. This is where so much of the American middle-class ethic about hard work, getting ahead, and taking one's knocks completely misses the mark. The prevailing system of rewards and penalties has meaning only if both ends of the system are operative. For many of the disadvantaged there is no point in stressing the vicissitudes and penalties of the workaday world unless and until their environment becomes basically more favorable. When substantial progress is made on the latter front, it will be time enough to stress the hardship elements in the training and development of the disadvantaged.

3. To the extent that training and placement are designed for disadvantaged workers, emphasis needs to be placed on close and continuing personal support by individuals with whom they can fully identify. Generally, this is best achieved where a person of similar background assumes a coaching role, the same person performing this function from the time the individual's training starts until he finds a job and even after. Perhaps the greatest difficulty in working with the disadvantaged, as noted earlier, derives from the fact that their personal backgrounds, associations, and experiences predispose them against the discipline required to train for

and take hold of a job. To the extent that this antijob bias reflects such basic factors as demoralized labor markets, discriminatory employer hiring or promotion practices, and unstable or irregular employment conditions, a continuing and close coaching relationship can hardly prove decisive; but if it reflects the inevitable daily frustrations of meeting time schedules, filling out forms, reading and understanding job instructions and the like, a personal supporting relationship can make all the difference. Unless immediate and effective assistance is available, these daily responsibilities are apt to loom as insurmountable barriers. The best equipped persons to perform the coaching function are usually graduates of the programs in which the trainees are enrolled.

4. A related requirement is development of followup procedures to keep track of the whereabouts and progress of individual disadvantaged trainees. Ideally, a continuing profile should be maintained on each trainee from point of "intake" to point of "placement"; but, in big city areas at least, practical limits would have to be set on the number of contacts and amount of recordkeeping involved. A logical plan would be to prepare a case file at the registrant's first point of contact with a community's system of social services whether a neighborhood outreach center, a local office of the Training and Employment Service, or other intake facility. Responsibility for keeping the registrant's file up to date would then be assigned to a specific office, presumably where his or her major testing, orientation, or training would take place. The important point is that wherever the registrant moves in the system of services, care will be taken to report back the registrant's whereabouts, progress, need for followup, and the like. Even more important, responsibility for keeping in periodic, personal touch with a registrant should be assigned to this same office or other specially designated center.

This all-important link in training and development systems is largely nonexistent at the present time. The highest disappearance rates occur at four points: between school and initial training interview, between initial training and advanced training, between completion of training and initial placement on a job, and between initial placement and permanent placement on a job. Experience reveals disappearance rates of from 30 to 40 percent at one or more of these points in many communities. Special efforts need to be concentrated at these critical crossover points to prevent disadvantaged persons from becoming completely rootless and losing all hope of economic independence.

5. In many instances the personal and cultural difficulties of a registrant are so serious that the individual's case should be referred to a team of professional consultants who would draw on their combined skills to help the enrollee overcome whatever difficulties he or she is confronting. While the makeup of the team would not always be the same, most would

probably include consultants in psychology or mental health, job testing, educational skills, personal finance or family budgeting, and job development or career planning.

Under this procedure it would be essential, again, that the team follow through with any proposed course of action to make sure that the registrant is not lost sight of after the initial interviewing and counseling. It would also be essential that the members of the team work closely enough with the enrollee and with each other so that a fully coordinated analysis of his needs could be made. In practice this means that the members of the team would probably have to be staff members of the main manpower program—Training and Employment Service, Concentrated Employment Program, or other center—to which the enrollee is assigned. While team members could handle other duties, the task of combining their efforts to meet the particular range of needs of every enrollee assigned to them would be their major responsibility. While individual cases would of course call for different treatment, in all instances the team should continue to work closely with the enrollee until he has achieved a firm enough footing to go ahead on his own or it is decided that his case calls for a wholly different approach.

Relating the Disadvantaged to the General Working Population

6. In most situations, certainly in larger communities, the training and placing of disadvantaged workers cannot be treated as a responsibility which is subordinate to the training and placing of nondisadvantaged workers. Attention has to be given to a wholly different range of issues with respect to the former—reading skills, family responsibilities, health needs, commuting problems, work habits, and the like—matters which, if applicable at all to nondisadvantaged workers, apply to them in a very different way. If competent people are to be drawn into training and placing the disadvantaged, the work must be viewed as an independent professional field, offering attractive opportunities for advancement to those who decide to stay in it as a lifetime career. From the viewpoint of the enrollees, close ties of course must be kept with the general training and placement field so that disadvantaged workers will eventually be able to meet the standards of the open market. From the viewpoint of the training staff members, however, there is a very real danger that their work with the disadvantaged will be treated as no more than a temporary interlude—perhaps even an unwelcome detour—in their general careers in the testing, training, and placement field. The consequences for morale and effective performance which would result from this development hardly need elaboration.

Similar considerations apply to the administrative leadership of those

programs. Subject to accepted standards of honest and efficient conduct and to periodic reviews of their performance, those in charge of testing, training, and placing the disadvantaged should be given broad latitude to achieve whatever objectives have been set for their particular programs. If the director of a prevocational program, skill center, or special work-experience activity is hemmed in by detailed agency rules or specific directives from a board of directors, little in the way of administrative vigor or innovation can be expected. Too close surveillance, whether a result of government regulations, interagency jurisdictional rivalries, pressures exerted by or through political leaders, or demands voiced by militant community groups, can paralyze effective administrative leadership. As in any well-run organization, capable management requires delegation of authority commensurate with the objective sought.

The issue of administrative authority can become quite complicated where the director of a manpower services center, such as the Concentrated Employment Program, supervises employees "on loan" from other agencies such as the Training and Employment Service or Opportunities Industrialization Center. This is especially the case if representatives of the other agencies make up a majority of the center's board of directors. Under these circumstances it is hard to see how the chief executive officer can possibly have sufficient independence to do an effective job. Unless the testing, training, and placing of disadvantaged workers is recognized as a distinct career field and the top administrators of the various programs in this field are given authority commensurate with their responsibilities, the results of these programs will almost surely be disappointing.

7. While it is clear that disadvantaged groups must be directly represented at all major levels of a community's training and placement programs, there appears to be no single formula for determining how this can best be achieved. Where professional or technical elements are chiefly involved, as in determining training requirements for mastering traditional skills, the participation of representatives of disadvantaged groups would certainly be less needed than in outreach or counseling activities where winning the confidence of ghetto young people and securing the cooperation of family groups are absolutely essential. The difficulty is that such "logical" differences are easily lost sight of whenever a general condition of mutual hostility and distrust prevails within a community. The most helpful strategy is to seek out the kind of grassroots leadership which will take account of these two elements in a given situation and bring them together in a way that will win the confidence of major groups within the community. Especially where racial animosities are involved, traditional, establishment-type leadership cannot be expected to perform this role. Whatever the difficulties, reliance must be placed in these cir-

cumstances on leaders who have direct ties with the disadvantaged groups involved.

Similarly, the top manpower council set up to provide overall direction to the community's manpower effort would need strong grassroots representation if the individual programs are to reach the groups needing support. On the other hand, the participation of other major organized groups in the community—business, labor unions, and local government —would also be necessary if the programs are to gain general public acceptance and cooperation. The mayor or top elected officers would need to play a major part in this connection in setting up the top manpower council, choosing a chairman, and getting it underway. While something of a cliche, it bears repeating that the effectiveness of a community's effort to train and place the disadvantaged will largely depend on the support which these major groups and their spokesmen stand ready to provide.

While of less importance than in the case of the individual manpower programs, it would seem unwise for a community's top manpower body or council to include representatives of any public or private agency which is itself directly responsible for one or more of the area's manpower programs. Were this permitted, effective community direction of manpower services would soon give way to logrolling or interagency rivalries. As noted later, this is a feature of the present Comprehensive Area Manpower System (CAMPS) which has caused considerable difficulty. The top body might well be tripartite in nature, consisting of (1) representatives of the mayor's office and the general public, (2) representatives of organized labor and business groups, and (3) representatives of poverty neighborhoods and other disadvantaged groups. Its role would be limited to giving broad direction through its executive director's office to the community's manpower activities and to conducting a continuing review, again through the executive director's office, of individual training and placement programs.

Because of the complex and sensitive issues involved in allocating funds among the various programs, the choice of an executive director and the quality of his office staff would be crucial to the success of a community's manpower effort. Main responsibility for formulating manpower development plans, recommending funds allocations, checking on operations of programs, and evaluating program results would necessarily fall on the shoulders of the executive director and his staff. Much would therefore depend on whether a relationship of mutual confidence and respect could be developed between the community's top manpower council on the one hand and the executive director and his staff on the other. Selection of the executive director should probably be left to the mayor, subject to approval by the manpower council.

One of the chief duties of the central manpower office would be to coordinate the operations of the various programs which share in the allocation of funds. If explicit provision is not made for this function, the problem of overlapping activities and interagency rivalries would inevitably emerge again. The coordinating machinery which until now has been embodied in CAMPS could not perform this function as long as each program was financed on an individual categorical basis. This effectively precluded any meaningful planning on a local area basis and kept the CAMPS committees from being a major source of innovative ideas and actions. Then, too, the deliberations of the local area CAMPS committees were largely in the hands of the various agency representatives who were immediately responsible for the local manpower development programs. While conducive to a certain degree of accommodation and mutual support, the CAMPS structure was singularly ill adapted to supply the kind of forward-looking leadership that was needed in most localities.

A number of efforts have been made to help the CAMPS committees become more effective in coordinating programs and setting funding priorities. Under the latest move, the state and local committees are to be called manpower planning councils.[5] The principal responsibilities of the councils will be to advise the governors and mayors ". . . on the locally conceived priorities" for manpower services and on the preparation of comprehensive manpower plans. Whether this step will mark a major improvement will depend on congressional approval of the Administration's proposal to decentralize authority over manpower programs. Even so, since the councils will be limited to advisory functions, their role will probably remain quite limited. The critical provision in the May 21, 1971 announcement is the following:

> Because this revision of CAMPS does not alter existing authorities or procedures of agencies, but only relates to agency commitments to use plans on funding decisions, the Regional Manpower Coordinating Committee (RMCC) is not empowered to require agency funding along particular lines. Nevertheless, to support this revision and the Administration's commitment to decentralize, agencies are not to fund without regard to RMCC recommendations.

Thus, if the decentralization program goes through as presently planned, major authority will be vested in local elected officials; if it does not, federal officials will still exercise chief control.

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[5]Interagency Cooperative Issuance No. 72-2, Revision of the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System, May 21, 1971, mimeographed.

Conclusion

In choosing a manpower services strategy, a community has a wide range of policy options. The key issue is how far the community decides to move away from a market-oriented towards an interventionist-oriented strategy. Implementation of this policy choice is a three-step process: (1) determining the scope of manpower policy, (2) assigning responsibility for delivering manpower services, and (3) establishing specific program objectives.

A community manpower strategy on behalf of the disadvantaged must reconcile the principle that individual differences have to be taken into account with the principle that the disadvantaged need to be brought into the mainstream of career opportunities. The discussion of how these principles might be approached was organized around seven points. The main thrust of the discussion was to treat such services as special-purpose instruments, not as a set of devices for curing unemployment, poverty, or other serious ills of a community. While the bare elements of an approach were suggested in each instance, the specific direction which a community chooses to follow with respect to these issues must reflect its particular needs and resources. If a community's manpower effort develops along the lines suggested here, the basis would be laid for setting a strong manpower program in motion, but the specific ingredients of such a program must necessarily be left to each community to decide.

III. Redirecting Existing Programs

After putting a manpower services system in place and deciding on a general policy strategy, a community must determine whether any existing programs or activities need to be expanded, cut back, or otherwise altered. This issue goes, in part, to the detailed workings of specific programs—whether, for example, personal counseling or more traditional vocational guidance is more effective, whether more is gained from intensive but relatively short training periods or from longer periods broken by work experience or other activities, and whether greater net benefit is derived from specific skill training or from a more general approach to skill preparation.

Beyond assessing these relatively specific elements of individual programs, however, a community must also determine whether a given program should be expanded or contracted relative to other programs during a particular budget planning period. Because of the broader considerations involved, questions of relative program level are apt to be much harder to resolve than those in the first category. Should a locality, for example, cut back on institutional training and concentrate more of its efforts on on-the-job training? Should the long-established Training and Employment Service system (ES) assume responsibility for a larger share of manpower services on behalf of the disadvantaged or should some of the recently established programs such as the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) be expanded? Should vocational training of the disadvantaged continue to be handled by separate institutions, such as the MDTA Skill Centers, or should such training be made an integral part of the public school or community college system? Should major emphasis be placed on programs aimed at developing job opportunities for the disadvantaged (the demand side) or on programs aimed at developing job skills and related qualifications (the supply side)?

Until now, questions of program level in particular localities have largely been settled in Washington (more recently in the regional manpower offices), with each local program sponsor putting in as large a budget request as he thinks can win approval. If local communities are to assume a larger policy role, however, it is obvious that they will have to be prepared to answer questions of this sort largely on their own. The two preceding chapters presented a general set of principles which communities will need to keep in mind in dealing with such questions. The purpose here is to apply these principles to more specific issues.

Comparisons of different programs, whether in terms of group attitudes, tangible gains over tangible costs, or more inclusive cost-benefit criteria, inevitably raise more questions than they answer. Behind any

findings lie difficult issues of social priorities, political considerations, and changing economic conditions. Despite such difficulties—perhaps because of them—the question of comparative program levels in a given community needs to be dealt with as objectively as possible, if for no other purpose than to provide an initial starting point for policy analysis and discussion.

As indicated in the preceding chapters, appraisal by a community of any particular manpower program largely turns on how well it fits into a locality's overall system of manpower services as determined by the needs of its disadvantaged population. This entails a rather different assessment procedure from the usual cost-benefit type of analysis. Even if a program achieves its stated purpose and does so in the most efficient way, the prior question needs to be considered whether the program's particular purpose is the appropriate one to pursue within the local context. As shown earlier, this can best be dealt with in terms of the entire range of needs of a community's disadvantaged population for manpower services when considered against existing programs and resources for meeting those needs.

Once the appropriate role to be assigned each program has been determined, the question of the most effective way to carry out a specific program can be tackled; lacking a clear demarcation of appropriate functions, any meaningful assessment of alternative means becomes impossible. This is the principal reason why the many cost-benefit studies that have been made of manpower programs cannot be expected to give much guidance to manpower policymakers at the local community level.[1]

Adapting Existing Programs to a Unified System of Services

From the individual community viewpoint, the most striking fact about the existing manpower programs on behalf of the disadvantaged is that, while purportedly each has a special role to fill, in practice they all do much the same thing in much the same way. This follows from three features of the programs: both purposes and means tend to remain quite

[1]Thus, a recent study lists 27 objectives which manpower programs might seek to achieve, ranging from more equitable distribution of income to savings on the cost of welfare. Michael E. Borus and William R. Tash, *Measuring the Impact of Manpower Programs: A Primer* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute of Labor Relations, The University of Michigan-Wayne State University, 1970), pp. 10-14. For a concise review of the results of cost-benefit evaluations of manpower programs, see essay by Einar Hardin in G. G. Somers and W. D. Woods, eds., *Cost-Benefit Analysis of Manpower Policies,* Proceedings of a North American Conference (Kingston, Ontario: Center for Studies in Vocational and Technical Education, The University of Wisconsin, and Industrial Relations Centre, Queen's University, 1969), pp. 97-118.

general and blurred; as programs develop related functions are added to meet client needs; and as time passes, closer linking relationships are formed with other programs to meet still other needs. The resulting movement towards a common center has much to be said for it since it makes it easier for enrollees to get certain basic forms of assistance regardless of the program they enter. The problem is that effort is often duplicated, resources in a given program become thinly spread, and the special strengths of different programs are diluted. Specific missions need to be assigned each of the major programs while at the same time enrollees are assured easy access to whatever services they need.

This blurring process shows up more in day-to-day practice than in the formal features of the programs, but it is evident in the structures of the programs too. Thus, the Job Corps is said to be unique in that it offers young enrollees a new environment away from home in residential centers; but like most of the other programs, it also provides "a combination of additional education, vocational training, intensive counseling, and related assistance."[2] The MDTA Institutional program has concentrated on classroom-type skill training; but like the Job Corps, it includes a variety of related functions such as basic education, vocational counseling, and help in personal development. Similarly, MDTA-OJT has provided on-the-job work exposure along with various forms of skill training and related services. Experience with these two types of MDTA programs led to the setting up of Skill Centers in some 50 communities where enrollees could choose a line of training from a considerable range of occupations as well as receive assistance in the form of basic education, career counseling, coaching, and the like.

The Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) were set up along lines similar to the Skill Centers except that no allowances were paid trainees and the main support (at least until recently) came from private sources rather than from government. The Jobs in the Business Sector (JOBS) program has stressed provision of job opportunities for the disadvantaged as a result of pledges from private business; but in the case of pledges involving contracts for federal funds, provision was also made for skill training, remedial education, counseling help, and support services. The Concentrated Employment Program (CEP) was designed to provide a similar range of manpower services on as much of a one-stop basis as possible to residents living in seriously impoverished areas, mostly innercity ghettos.

The other major programs have developed a similar duality: each has a somewhat distinctive policy emphasis, but each has also added a variety of other functions in common with all or most of the other pro-

[2]*Manpower Report of the President*, April 1971, p. 47.

grams. Moreover, thanks to linkage relationships, enrollees in a program which does not provide a particular support can often get it elsewhere without shifting programs. The result from the viewpoint of enrollees is a considerable degree of interprogram similarity, so much so that there is little basis for referring registrants to one program rather than another. Indeed, the principal referral criterion used by Employment Service personnel appears to be the number of unfilled slots in the different programs, not the job-preparation needs of individual registrants.[3]

Judging from the available evidence, there tends to be no clear grouping of registrants by background characteristics in terms of different program purposes. A comparison of enrollee characteristics as percentages of total enrollment in six major programs found the highest percentage of minorities (88 percent) in JOBS, the highest percentage of school dropouts (78 percent) in CEP, and the highest percentage under 22 (67 percent) and on public assistance (35 percent) in New Careers; variations in the percentage totals for these characteristics among the other programs were not marked; and when other characteristics by percentage rankings were examined, no striking differences were found.[4]

Percentage characteristic comparisons for four programs based on Manpower Administration data for 23 innercity congressional districts in 12 cities show a higher degree of concentration of low income, limited education, and general disadvantaged enrollees in the CEP and WIN (welfare) programs than in MDTA Institutional or MDTA-OJT (see Table 3), but these two sets of programs probably differ more sharply from each other in content and purpose than any of the others.

A major conclusion of a recent intensive four-city investigation was that the comparative concentrations of client characteristics in different programs, such as MDTA Skill Centers and WIN, varied markedly from one community to the next.[5] While a given program in a particular city may have developed a fairly distinctive character, there was no certainty it was performing the most needed role in that particular locality.

The intermingling of purposes and functions points up the lack of clear

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[3]Olympus Research Corporation, *Evaluation of Manpower Development and Training Skill Centers, Final Report*, prepared for the Bureau of Adult, Vocational, and Technical Education, Office of Education, pursuant to Contract No. OEC-0-70-2807 (325), 1971, Chapter 2, pp. 1-6.

[4]*Ibid.*, Chapter 2, p. 16. These percentages were substantially above the figures for the next most highly ranked programs in terms of percentage concentrations. The six programs covered in the investigation were MDTA Skill Centers, MDTA Institutional, MDTA-OJT, NAB-JOBS, New Careers, and CEP.

[5]Garth Mangum, *The Total Impact of Manpower Programs: A Four-City Case Study*, Vol. I, Summary of the Final Report, Olympus Research Corporation (Springfield, Va.: U.S. Department of Commerce, National Technical Information Service, 1971), p. 11.

Table 3

Percentage of Total Enrollments in Four Manpower Programs in 23 "Inner-City" Congressional Districts in 12 Large Cities[a] by Selected Economic/Social Categories April 30, 1971

Category	MDTA Institutional			MDTA-OJT			CEP			WIN		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
Public assistance	16	13	19	9	5	12	12	7	20	99	98	99
Education												
Under 8 years	5	6	3	7	8	6	10	11	10	9	16	5
8-11 years	48	56	41	43	41	45	55	57	52	57	58	56
Race												
White	35	41	28	49	53	43	22	24	19	36	62	23
Negro	63	55	71	49	45	54	66	63	72	62	32	77
Other	2	4	1	2	2	3	12	13	9	2	6	—
Disadvantaged	70	70	70	52	48	57	91	90	93	96	93	98
Under 19 years	12	13	11	11	12	10	13	13	13	9	12	7
19-21	36	37	36	32	36	27	33	33	33	19	16	20
22-44	44	45	44	44	44	43	46	47	46	67	65	68
45 and over	8	5	10	13	8	19	7	7	8	5	7	4
Unemployed	78	84	72	58	58	55	87	88	86	90	94	87
12-26 weeks	14	17	12	7	7	6	11	12	10	12	21	8
27-52 weeks	22	18	25	12	10	15	21	18	25	37	32	40
Annual family income of $4,000 or less	43	41	44	29	28	31	42	40	45	64	51	70
$1,001-2,000	16	15	17	9	9	10	16	15	16	18	10	22
2,001-3,000	15	15	15	10	9	11	15	14	16	28	21	32
3,001-4,000	12	11	12	10	10	10	11	11	13	18	20	16
Total number enrollees	5,936	2,945	2,991	2,432	1,375	1,066	9,125	5,421	3,704	4,350	1,422	2,928

Source: Office of Manpower Management Data Systems, Manpower Administration, U.S. Department of Labor (unpublished data).

[a]The 12 cities are: Atlanta, Baltimore, Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Houston, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Richmond; two congressional districts were included in each city except in the case of Richmond where only one was included.

direction of many of the programs and the need for a sharper demarcation of each program's place in a system of community manpower services. While the two preceding chapters developed a general set of principles for gearing existing programs into such systems, questions about actual implementation remain to be resolved. Final answers are of course not to be expected, but an analysis of how a community might adapt already existing programs into a system of manpower services should throw considerable light on some of the major issues involved.

Program Centralization-Decentralization Issue

The data on enrollee characteristics of different manpower programs point up a serious policy dilemma, already noted, which every community faces in this area: whether to centralize a full range of training and support services in each program so that enrollees can draw directly on them in whatever program they enter; or to decentralize training and support services for all programs on a geographical basis so that enrollees can draw directly on them in whatever neighborhood they live. Program centralization would provide "one-stop" services in a functional sense, but it would inevitably entail an overlapping of training and support services among programs and a serious stretching of available staff resources. Decentralization would make such opportunities more readily accessible, but it would tend to carry a prohibitively high price tag or result in a serious dilution of essential services. To reconcile this policy dilemma, communities must decide which functions will need to be kept together and which can be provided separately; they must decide further whether the functions in either category can most effectively be provided at a centralized geographical location or in numerous neighborhood centers.[6]

In some instances the general principles outlined in the earlier chapters, plus the particular geographical distribution of disadvantaged workers and available job openings prevailing in a given community, will give an adequate basis for resolving these questions; but in most cases the answers will probably not be obvious. The following guidelines are offered as a possible approach to dealing with such less-than-clear situations.

In order to resolve the distribution-of-function and distribution-of-location dilemma, a community must first of all consider whether certain

[6]A closely related issue is whether manpower services for the disadvantaged should be handled by already established institutions like the public schools or by newly established bodies. This issue was taken up in the preceding chapter and will be touched on again when attention turns to specific programs.

manpower services for the disadvantaged are so technical and specialized that they have to be centered in one location and program or so general and widely needed that they have to be made directly available in every neighborhood in which disadvantaged groups are concentrated. Certain advanced skills, medical and health aids, tests for unusual technical careers, and the like would fall into the former category; so would diagnostic, personal adjustment training and other specialized services provided the hard-core unemployed by vocational rehabilitation facilities such as the Jewish Employment and Vocational Service.[7] At the other extreme, initial contacts and referrals for various personal and family services would need to be kept as close as possible to the individual's home and immediate environment, and so would fall into the second category. The implications for program planning in the case of highly specialized manpower services are obvious, but the most effective way to provide services in the second category is much less clear.

A possible approach which has met with considerable success in such communities as Boston and even smaller towns like Chester, Pennsylvania, is to establish a number of intake orientation and referral centers in disadvantaged neighborhoods which would provide preliminary supports and guidance on a personalized basis. If a registrant needs further professional assistance in order to qualify for worthwhile employment or to enter a particular training program, he would then be referred to the appropriate agency. Whether this preliminary servicing function could best be handled by the Training and Employment Service would depend on how far it has decentralized its operations in a particular community and how many of its personnel have direct familiarity with the problems of the disadvantaged. If the Training and Employment Service seems inadequate, the city's Community Action Agency or other grassroots type of organization should be given the responsibility. If the latter route is taken, a close liaison between the local neighborhood centers, the Employment Service, and other manpower agencies would have to be maintained or considerable duplication of effort would result.

Among the possible ways of handling the outreach and initial servicing function, the approach developed in Houston, Texas, deserves special mention. Under an agreement reached between the Texas Employment Commission and the city's Human Resources Development Program, the initial contacting function of the HRD Program was assigned to the Neighborhood Centers Association and Houston Action for Youth, both neighborhood-centered agencies. Outpost offices were set up in key pov-

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[7]For a discussion of the place of rehabilitation facilities in a system of manpower services, see International Association of Rehabilitation Facilities, *A Comprehensive Manpower System: The Work Incentive Program and Rehabilitation Facilities*, prepared under a contract with the U.S. Manpower Administration, 1970.

erty sections, each staffed with about 10 professionals from the Employment Commission and 10 "indigenous" outreach workers. Under this structure close cooperation was maintained with the Employment Commission at the same time that clear-cut responsibility for the initial contacting function was centered in two organizations with close ties to poverty neighborhood groups.[8]

If a registrant needs aid beyond the preliminary servicing stage, professional assistance is necessary; the normal sequence entails interviewing, counseling, and referral by the nearest employment and/or other support services. In each community the sequence for a registrant to follow should be clearly established so that he may know what steps to take but, more importantly, so that responsibility for each of the major professional services can be assigned to specific organizations. Most of the community's manpower agencies would also have to provide some ancillary services so that registrants would not be required to move too frequently from one agency to another, but as noted earlier it is essential that each organization be given a central mission to fulfill. Success or failure of the organization would then depend on how effectively its particular mission is carried out.

Counseling and other forms of personal development support are one type of service that would have to be available in almost all programs so that a registrant would have ready access to this kind of assistance in whatever program he happens to enroll. Thus, the MDTA Skill Centers, CEP, the various on-the-job programs, and the like should be equipped to deal with this aspect of manpower development. At the same time the office which is assigned main responsibility for this function should make sure that every enrollee gets the kind of continuing counseling and related support he needs.This in turn will require close cooperation between the various organizations involved to ensure that enrollees will not lose the benefit of any support that they had received earlier. As already indicated, one way to achieve this result would be to have personnel from the Employment Service or other central organization outstationed in the various cooperating agencies.

Any effort to provide registrants with effective counseling support on a continuing basis must include followup procedures to the point where registrants can be expected to make it on their own. Whether this function would be better handled at the neighborhood center level or by the Employment Service would depend on local circumstances, but again the chief requirement is that explicit provision be made for making sure that

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[8]Pearl B. Heller, *An Outreach Demonstration: A Component of a Manpower Program in Houston, Texas, 1967* (U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, 1969).

the followup service is actually carried out. While this would seem to be a logical component of the counseling responsibility, there is surprisingly little emphasis on this aspect of community manpower practice at the present time.

The other major professional services beyond interviewing, counseling, and referral which would have to be assigned are (1) basic and prevocational education, (2) skill training, (3) training on the job, and (4) job placement. Except for the last one, these services can be largely centralized in individual organizations. Thus in the case of basic and prevocational education, registrants whose major need lies in this area should be able to turn to one program especially designed to meet it. Whether, in a given community, this function should be undertaken by the public schools, by community colleges, or by an independent body set up for this express purpose would depend on the adaptability and resourcefulness of the particular institution involved. Ultimately, the established educational institutions would have to play the key role in carrying out this function; but under conditions prevailing in most communities today, it would probably be unwise if they were given control over this activity at this time. The school experience of large numbers of manpower trainees has been too embittering to expect any other outcome. Their chances of making some progress in developing basic disciplinary skills and work habits are much enhanced if their basic educational experience is closely linked to their job training and/or actual job experience. Even at the risk of some loss of professional qualifications, the use of teaching personnel who can readily identify with enrollees in the basic education programs is also highly desirable. At the same time, steps should be taken not to segregate manpower enrollees from students in regular educational programs, thus putting them in a second-class status.

In the case of the second and third functions, skill training and training on the job, account must be taken of the wide differences in the needs of both the workers and employers who would be involved. The particular ways in which program functions are defined in these two areas are therefore going to vary considerably from community to community. At least a three-way division of responsibility would probably be needed in most instances: a program for registrants whose chief need is for specific, classroom-type skill training; another program for those chiefly needing on-the-job work experience; and a third program for the large intermediate category of the disadvantaged needing general skill preparation and specific job experience in roughly equal proportions. In each of the three programs certain additional services would also have to be provided, with the widest range of services required in the last program.

The program to which a certain person should be assigned will, unfortunately, not always be clear. Certainly no set of rules based on age,

educational attainment, skill preparation, or general intelligence can be applied. Presumably most persons who have had considerable job experience and essential preparation along a particular vocational line would enter the intensive skill training program; most without any job experience who have had considerable schooling or specific vocational preparation would enter the work-experience program; finally, those with neither training nor experience would enter the third program which combines these two types of preparation.

A substantial judgment element, however, would remain: What are the individual's personal preferences? What is his motivation to work and/or train? What are his family background and home situation? Is the indicated program already overcrowded? These and similar questions would call for answers on an individual assessment basis insofar as staff and time limitations would permit. The essential point is that if the central mission of each of the major programs is clearly demarcated and made generally known, individuals would have a better chance to get into the kind of program that would fit their particular needs. The existing scrambled pattern of programs almost guarantees the opposite, and largely explains the present indiscriminate practice of assigning registrants to the various programs.

The Training and Employment Service is the established instrumentality for performing this guiding function at present. As the distinctive roles of the programs become clearer, ES would need to give greater attention to how this function could be more adequately performed; to this end, ES staff members would need to know a good deal about individual registrants, and they would also need to maintain close enough ties with each program so that they would have a basis for judging where different registrants should go. This guiding-assigning function, as developed more fully in the next section, cannot be divorced from the more general counseling work performed by ES; nonetheless it deserves separate and explicit attention.

Finally, responsibility for job placement of disadvantaged registrants at the community level, the fourth function, needs to be clarified. At present, the staff of each program keeps on the lookout for job openings for their completers. Considerable decentralization in the jobfinding process is to be expected and welcomed. With respect to the disadvantaged, however, it is especially important from the viewpoint of both registrants and employers that individuals referred to jobs possess the minimum requirements for acceptable performance. Unless certain safeguards are established, poor matchings are bound to occur, to the detriment of present and future registrants in the programs. Employers in certain fields will be besieged by job developers of the various programs, all seeking to place those who have completed training under their aegis. It goes with-

out saying that individual registrants should be able to seek job opportunities on their own, but staff members of individual programs should be required to clear job referrals of registrants with a central jobfilling agency. In most communities this would be the Training and Employment Service.

There is no reason why individual programs should not work out special job-placement arrangements with particular groups of employers; in fact, this is an essential part of most on-the-job training and work-experience programs. Nevertheless, it is essential that all job-placement arrangements of this sort be worked out in full cooperation with the Employment Service; otherwise, wasteful and self-defeating rivalries to fill available job openings are bound to arise. This is but one aspect of the much broader question of employment programs for the disadvantaged which will be taken up in the next chapter.

Once the central missions of a community's major manpower programs have been clarified and reformulated in terms of a total system of services for the disadvantaged, the means for deciding what additional services should be made a part of a given program and what kind of linkages should be established among the different programs would be at hand. The most important test to apply to both questions is how close a given service is to a program's central mission. If very close, the service should be incorporated in the program; if close but not integral, a linking relationship with other appropriate programs should be established; and if merely tangential, probably no positive action would be necessary. Other considerations, such as the additions to staff that would be required, the other services that would have to be foregone, and the projections of longer term needs, would also deserve weight; but closeness of function would constitute the major policy guide.

These relationships and distinctions are difficult to sort out *in vacuo* and are best analyzed in terms of specific programs now operating in many communities. The four federally financed programs deserving most attention in this connection are: the Training and Employment Service, the Manpower Development and Training Act programs (especially the MDTA Skill Centers), the Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS) program, and the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP). A fifth program, the work and training portion of the government's new welfare program (the Federal Assistance Plan), is sure to have a major impact on community manpower policies if it is finally enacted into law, but the terms of the legislation remain uncertain at the present time. This discussion is therefore limited to considering how the four programs noted above can be fitted into a comprehensive system of community manpower services.

The Employment Service in Community Manpower Systems

The central mission of the Training and Employment Service, as stated earlier, is to provide directional aids to the disadvantaged in finding worthwhile employment. The chief performance test to apply to this part of its activities, therefore, is how effectively it carries out this supportive guidance role: Is the necessary information about the available range of jobs and the steps that must be taken to qualify for them getting to the disadvantaged in the most effective possible way? Do the initial interviews, tests, and other vocational guides provide adequate grounds for deciding on the next steps for registrants? Are the Employment Service staff members close enough to the community's manpower development programs on a continuing basis so that disadvantaged registrants are referred to the program best suited to their needs? Are the staff members of the Service also in a position to refer disadvantaged registrants to other appropriate agencies if additional support services are needed? Has the Service seen to it that followup procedures involving its own and other agency operations are established to ensure that referrals are effectively implemented? Does the Service provide the widest possible matching of choices among employers and disadvantaged jobseekers without engendering unnecessary duplication of job-development and job-placement activities? Taken together, these questions constitute a series of tests for determining how good a coordinating and informational job the Employment Service is doing on behalf of a community's disadvantaged groups.

The most troublesome issues confronting the Employment Service with respect to the disadvantaged are to decide what other functions are integrally related to the central mission of the Service just described and, with respect to still other functions, what kind of linkages the Service should establish with agencies or groups mainly responsible for such functions. As to the former issue, apprising registrants of training and job possibilities through vocational counseling and other means would clearly come within the Service's purview. So would working with training program administrators and employers in determining whether registrants qualify for particular openings. If intensive counseling or further professional treatment is required, however, the Service should provide referral help only, with the understanding that the more specialized support would be made available elsewhere. Many, perhaps most, of the problems posed by disadvantaged workers cannot be solved by means available to the Employment Service; it should therefore encourage, not discourage, other specialized agencies to step in.

As to the second issue, the Employment Service should maintain close ties, not only with the three other manpower organizations under exam-

ination here but with a number of others, especially such civic groups as the Community Action Agency, the public schools, vocational education organizations, Chamber of Commerce, and other employer groups. Employment Service functions needed in the programs of these other organizations should be handled on site by outstationed Service personnel. Moreover, while supervision of outstationed personnel should be left to the organizations to whom they are assigned, career prospects of such personnel need special safeguarding. A premium, not a penalty, should be attached to outstation work of this sort. This and other linkage issues are not going to prove easy for the Employment Service to solve; the issues, however, are best approached from the viewpoint of the various programs or organizations involved.

In carrying out these information, guidance, jobmatching and related functions on behalf of the disadvantaged, the Employment Service faces an inherent contradiction: It is the principal coordinator of all training and employment activities for the disadvantaged in a community, but it is not in a position to assume full responsibility for any one of these functions on its own. As noted earlier, initial interviews and referrals can best be carried out by grassroots neighborhood centers; but if the person needs professional support in the manpower area, the Employment Service should handle the further interviews and referrals. For its part, the Employment Service is well equipped to do much of the general counseling, testing, and guidance work; but if intensive professional help is indicated, the assistance of other agencies will be needed. This same sharing of responsibility should apply to the job-placement function with the proviso that the Employment Service should be given sole responsibility for maintaining a continuing inventory of job openings in a given labor market area. Other manpower services such as basic education, language training, and direct vocational preparation would presumbly fall outside the purview of ES altogether.

The course of action which this indicates for the Employment Service —provide the first line of professional manpower services within a community for the disadvantaged, but share responsibility for many of these services with other groups or organizations to the extent that their special expertise is needed—is not an easy one. In some communities, ES has already moved a considerable way in this direction, but in many others little significant progress has been made. The essential difference in community experience often comes down to a matter of finding capable staff to take on the new and broader functions. Any community which hopes to develop an effective program of manpower services for the disadvan-

taged should make sure that the Employment Service in its area is developing along these lines.[9]

MDTA Skill Centers in Community Manpower Systems

The various training programs financed under the Manpower Development and Training Act make up the main elements of training activities in most communities on behalf of the disadvantaged. These activities range from privately administered training classes or on-the-job training to publicly administered programs, all of which, however, are largely federally financed. It would be a herculean task to analyze each of these programs to determine whether it is fulfilling a legitimate purpose within a community's system of manpower services. Rather, attention in this discussion will focus on just one of the programs, MDTA Skill Centers, since it epitomizes many of the issues posed by the other MDTA programs.

The 70 Skill Centers now operating in the United States provide a variety of manpower services for the disadvantaged in their communities, notably full-time and part-time classes in occupational training, employment and personal counseling, basic education, job development and placement, and employment followup of Skill Center graduates. In most cases the Centers are sponsored by the local school system, their purpose being to provide more meaningful vocational preparation than either traditional public school or private vocational training programs can offer.

In the decade of the sixties it became increasingly evident that many young people, especially in the large cities, were getting little from their school experience; and when they left school as graduates or dropouts, they had few opportunities to pursue any meaningful occupational training or to find worthwhile employment. While 35 percent of the enrollees under the MDTA legislation could be from nondisadvantaged backgrounds, disadvantaged participants in Skill Center courses were to receive allowances and the programs were chiefly designed to help them develop employable skills.

Of the major federally funded programs, the MDTA Skill Centers appear to have a more clear-cut purpose than any other. Moreover, this will

[9]For a vigorous attack on this aspect of the Employment Service record, see The Lawyer's Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and the National Urban Coalition, *Falling Down on the Job: The United States Employment Service and the Disadvantaged* (Washington, D.C.: 1971). In this connection it is worth noting that since 1970 the Employment Service has shifted its emphasis away from serving the disadvantaged and towards ". . . greater emphasis on developing cooperative relations with firms." *Manpower Report of the President,* 1972, p. 63.

doubtless remain true wherever a community's public school system fails to meet the vocational training needs of the disadvantaged effectively. Even the Skill Centers, however, cover such a variety of activities that their place in a community's system of manpower services remains somewhat vague.

At present the Centers endeavor to meet the needs of experienced workers for training in specialized skills; the needs of less experienced workers for training in general categories of skills; the needs of young adults with no employment experience for entry-level jobs; and the needs of persons with very limited basic educational preparation, with difficult family problems, or with serious personal difficulties. Given the large size and shifting character of Skill Center enrollments, there simply is not enough trained staff to take care of all of these functions and groups adequately. Enrollees who, by reason of experience and/or temperament, can take advantage of the classroom training gain much from the program; but for the many participants who are lacking in these respects, the benefits are much less. The latter often require individualized, sustained, broadly supportive aid which may be the very antithesis of straightforward, classroom-type vocational training. Barring the addition of much larger and more versatile staffs, the Skill Centers cannot be expected to do an adequate job at all these levels of responsibility.

This diffusion of function makes any rational allocation of registrants among programs much more difficult if not impossible. Aside from considerations of physical location, many registrants could just as well be referred to any of a half dozen federally funded training programs in a given locality of which a Skill Center might be one. It is hardly surprising under these circumstances that the Employment Service, as noted earlier, bases referrals mostly on the number of slots that happen to be open rather than on the different types of programs to be found in a community.[10]

While the appropriate sphere of the Skill Centers cannot be pinpointed with any assurance, experience indicates that their central mission should be to provide general vocational training, chiefly in a classroom setting, for disadvantaged persons who need special support in developing an employable skill and who have the potential for putting this type of training to good use. The "special support" test would exclude those who could be expected to find jobs or training through private employers or other means; the "potential" test would exclude those who have severe personal behavior problems or show no willingness to carry through with

[10]The other main problem with respect to enrollment procedures is that many Skill Centers have experienced chronic underutilization of their facilities, a circumstance that cannot be attributed to the slowdown in business activity alone.

a sustained program of training. Judging from the responses of Skill Center administrators and employers of Center graduates, as well as from factual reports on employment records, the latter type of enrollee poses the most serious difficulty with which the Centers have to deal. While it is clear that training opportunities must be made available for such enrollees, it is very doubtful whether the Skill Centers are the most effective mechanism for doing so.

Sharpening the focus of Skill Center programs in this way would narrow the range of persons whom they serve somewhat, but a broad "middle" category of disadvantaged would still be eligible. With a sharper policy focus, the Centers would not have to give as much attention to such related services as personal counseling, coaching, and basic education although some staff would have to be retained to meet special needs of this sort. More attention, on the other hand, could then be given to vocational and career counseling, job development, and job placement which, if handled in close cooperation with the Employment Service, would prove extremely valuable to many Center enrollees.

The chief value to be derived from such a change would be that the Skill Centers would then be able to provide a higher quality of training. Courses could be better planned, more effective use could be made of equipment and simulated job situations, greater flexibility could be permitted as to when students would be able to join classes of their choice, more provision for teaching experimentation and retooling time for staff members would be possible, and a greater emphasis on individual attention and small group teaching would become possible.[11] These changes, which a number of Skill Centers are already beginning to adopt, do not follow automatically from this sharpening of policy objectives; even if they should, it would be difficult to prove that the Skill Centers would subsequently do a significantly better job. All that can be said with assurance is that if the Centers would move in this direction they would be concentrating their resources on the specific mission which they seem best equipped to carry out.

The other basic difficulty confronting the Skill Centers is that they run the danger of being cut off from general community institutions and developments—other government agencies, public schools, labor market opportunities beyond a few entry-level jobs, and the like. Too often the result is that enrollees who complete the training are either limited to a narrow range of lower skilled jobs or find no remunerative work at all. Now that the Skill Centers have become relatively well established, it is

[11]These outcomes would embody many of the recommendations made in the 1971 Olympus Research Corporation study, *Evaluation of Manpower Development and Training Skill Centers, op. cit.*, Chapter 9, pp. 32-37.

important that they form much closer ties with the wider community so that their enrollees can be brought into the mainstream of educational, economic, and social development. One of the most promising experiments in this direction has recently occurred in Denver, Colorado, where the Skill Center, while maintaining its separate administrative structure, has been included within the newly established community college. This has meant that "MDTA enrollees attend the same classes with regular students and even receive college credit."[12] If ties of this sort can be developed with other institutions of a local area, the MDTA Skill Centers will be in a position to play a much fuller role in community manpower service systems.

The JOBS Program in Community Manpower Systems

On January 23, 1968, President Johnson proposed an ambitious program which came to be known as Job Opportunities in the Business Sector (JOBS). Under this program private industry was to pledge jobs for persons of a disadvantaged background who would not normally qualify for employment. Government, for its part, was to identify these persons and, where companies could not afford to do so, cover any special training costs the participating companies incurred. During the first two years of the program the National Alliance of Businessmen (NAB), the employer organization set up to administer the program, emphasized company participation without financial help from government; but with the slowdown in business, federal aid in the form of contracts covering employment commitments of firms became more important. While socially laudable, the pledging of jobs by employers will probably always occupy a shifting and uncertain position in a community's system of manpower services because it will be completely dependent on profit prospects and the willingness of employers to assume the added costs of hiring persons from disadvantaged backgrounds. This discussion will center on the phase of the program which involves federal financial aid because it is susceptible to a considerable degree of governmental direction. The suggestions for shifting the policy focus of this aspect of JOBS do not of course apply to the pledging of jobs.

Experience to date leaves little doubt that federal aid in the JOBS program has made a distinctive contribution to opening jobs to the disad-

[12]Mangum, *op. cit.*, p. 65. The report continues: "The presence of basic education and prevocational orientation for MDTA enrollees made it available to other students. Thus from MDTA there emerged in Denver an institution committed to and capable of serving the disadvantaged but avoiding segregating them and stigmatizing them as second class."

vantaged in private industry.[13] The special value of the program derives from the fact that it has opened job doors in many (usually larger) companies to disadvantaged workers who otherwise would have been given no such opportunity and from the fact that a job opening is guaranteed to every worker admitted to the program. Even more than in the case of the MDTA Skill Centers, however, uncertainty exists as to what place the program should occupy in community manpower systems. From the start of the undertaking until the present, policy has wavered between mounting a massive attack on unemployment and poverty as against a much more highly selective effort to improve career prospects for limited numbers of the disadvantaged. Judging from public pronouncements of the business and government sponsors of the program, the former theme is still dominant; but in terms of actual practice, emphasis has begun to shift to the second. If the JOBS program is to play an effective role at the local level, its position in community systems of manpower services needs to be clarified.

While hiring under the JOBS program is limited to persons of disadvantaged background, the participating firms quite naturally look for the best qualified disadvantaged persons available (the "creaming" process). As jobs have become scarcer, this tendency has been accentuated. The most frequently expressed reservation on the part of the employers before joining the JOBS program was that many of the program participants would lack work motivation and other personal qualities that are needed to make good on a job. As a corollary to this view, participating firms in the program have sought to avoid hiring the most seriously disadvantaged; this raises the question whether many of the enrollees in JOBS would not have been hired even in the absence of the program.

The massive hiring campaign undertaken at the outset of JOBS, however, brought a wide cross section of the disadvantaged into the employment ranks of companies. Contrary to the expressed opinion on the part of employers before joining JOBS, there is no clear evidence that enrollees performed less efficiently than regular hires. A carefully designed in-house study of a sampling of JOBS employers by the Manpower Administration reported that 71 percent found no difference between the work habits of this group and those of regular employees of the same level. JOBS employees were said by 19 percent of the employers in the sample to have worse habits, and by roughly 10 percent to have better habits than regular employees.[14] There are no satisfactory data for testing

[13]Objective investigations of the JOBS program have admittedly not been able to quantify this finding since systematic data are not available.

[14]Greenleigh Associates, Inc., *The Job Opportunities in the Business Sector Program: An Evaluation of Impact in Ten Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas*, prepared under a contract with the Office of Policy, Evaluation, and Research of the Manpower Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor, June 1970.

whether these predominantly favorable perceptions among participating employers were justified.

Experience does, however, point a direction along which JOBS might well move in the future, and that is to make sure that the participating firms provide high quality, broadly supportive services for disadvantaged enrollees who can put such services to good use. The key idea behind JOBS is that, with government financial support, companies will find it possible to take on persons who do not meet usual hiring requirements and that if certain training and other special supports are provided, they will prove to be fully productive employees. The Manpower Administration in-house report cited above analyzed retention rates of JOBS enrollees in a sampling of participating firms; the firms were rated by the extent and quality of the support services they provided.[15] The findings were as follows:

Rating of program service package	*Average retention rates (in percent)*	*Number of companies*
1. Strong	55.1	20
2. Adequate	40.0	24
3. Inadequate or nonexistent	37.4	29

The effects on retention rates when participating companies in the sample were ranked in terms of opportunities afforded enrollees to move up in the job structure were even more striking.[16]

Upgrading opportunities	*Average retention rates (in percent)*	*Number of companies*
1. Good	62.4	19
2. Fair	43.3	31
3. Poor	31.4	24

The future direction of the JOBS program indicated by these findings would fit in well with a community's system of manpower services. Instead of filling "any available job with any available body," employers would be expected to use the government's funds to provide meaningful jobs that carry a reasonable opportunity for career progression, carefully planned and administered on-the-job training, and a well-developed sys-

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 80. The ratings pertained to (a) the effectiveness of jobcoaching, (b) whether the basic education program contained job-related instruction and whether this instruction was tailored to the job and to production needs, (c) the length and quality of the orientation program, (d) whether provision for minor medical and dental care was included, (e) whether followup existed after placement in OJT, (f) whether jobcounseling and jobcoaching were effectively separated, and (g) transportation.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 82.

tem of support services. Those services closely related to the worker's job responsibilities, such as work orientation, basic communication skills, jobcoaching, and vocational counseling, ought to be made available on the companies' premises if at all possible. Other essential supports, such as general education, medical services, child care, and transportation, could perhaps best be handled through linkages with outside agencies. Responsibility, however, for making sure that both types of services are available as needed should rest with the participating companies and ultimately with the federal Manpower Administration, the funding agency.[17]

If the JOBS program is redirected along these lines, only disadvantaged persons who show both the need and the potential for this kind of intensive, high quality work-training experience would be referred to it. Enrollees would presumably come from a wide range of backgrounds within the disadvantaged category; requiring a certain minimum level of educational attainment, job experience, or general intelligence would hardly provide a satisfactory criterion for deciding who would find the program of greatest help. As indicated earlier, steps would have to be taken by the Employment Service and other organizations to establish more effective recruiting ties with schools and better outreach relationships with ghetto community groups in order to identify more enrollees who would be especially benefited by the program. Preferably, the coaching function would be carried out by someone with the same background as the disadvantaged trainees, and representatives of interested community groups should be active participants in carrying the company programs forward. At the same time, enrollees would be held to regular standards of performance on the jobs assigned to them; condescending treatment from a sense of sympathy or guilt would only compromise the status of the enrollees and undercut the entire program.

Enthusiasm for the JOBS program fell sharply with the drop in business activity after 1969 and the shift from tight to loose labor markets. The disenchantment reflected in a number of studies was in no small measure due to the overblown rhetoric with which the program has always been surrounded; verbal overkill appears to be as serious a weakness among business as among political leaders.[18] If the training and job experience in JOBS had been coupled with fuller support services and genuine career opportunities, participating employers would have faced

[17]This is the direction which has been particularly emphasized by leaders of the Coalition-JOBS program in New York City.

[18]Much of the criticism voiced in a recent Senate committee report, for example, can be explained in these terms. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *The JOBS Program: Background Information,* 91st Cong., 2d sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1970).

achievable goals and the entire program would have been put on a more secure, if less glamorous, footing.

CEP in Community Manpower Systems

In April 1967 the federal government launched its most innovative and certainly most difficult undertaking in the manpower field, the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP). The program was built around the idea that the employment needs of residents in areas of extreme poverty could best be met if important components of training and related services were offered at one location in each such target area. Subcontracts were made with various agencies which had responsibility for the services involved, but direction and coordination were given to a prime sponsor (usually the Community Action Agency). At present, CEP centers are operating in about 80 target areas, most of them in city slums.

Despite serious criticisms by investigators and concerned groups, CEP has added a valuable dimension to community manpower services for the disadvantaged and deserves to be continued. Admittedly, experience under the programs has been extremely diverse. In the case of Boston, for example, CEP was an integral part of a solidly based Community Action Agency—Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD)—right from the start; through ABCD's neighborhood employment centers, CEP was able to forge strong links with the important poverty area groups and, after a trial and error period, with the Employment Service.[19] At the other extreme, the CEP organization in Denver was never given a clear place in the city's political or institutional structure, and it did not have control over enough funds to give it any effective influence over other manpower agencies such as the Employment Service, Opportunities Industrialization Center, and the like.[20] The CEP experience in Philadelphia and other communities has fallen between these two extremes.

The elements of strength in the CEP experiment, at least in a potential sense, deserve elaboration. Concentrating a number of the services at one location provides a favorable setting for enrollees to find out what kind of training they need and what further steps they will have to take to find worthwhile jobs. CEP is closer than any of the other federally funded programs to the groups it seeks to serve. This is due not so much to the location of the centers as to these factors: the sponsoring organization

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[19]In the words of one investigation of the Boston experience, "Outstationed [State Employment Service] personnel provide many of the services, do so effectively and have seeded the [State Employment Service] with new attitudes as a result." Mangum, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[20]*Ibid.*

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usually has strong grassroots representation; many of the staff members are from disadvantaged backgrounds; provision is made for personal support, typically involving individual coaching by peers who come to know enrollees on a one-to-one basis; and referrals to other agencies are made only after careful assessment is made of an individual's particular needs.

The greatest strength of CEP is also the source of its most challenging problems: many of its enrollees are severely handicapped in terms of health, motivation, or emotional stability as well as seriously disadvantaged in terms of education, skill training, and job experience. In contrast to the Employment Service, MDTA Skill Centers, and JOBS, the similarity in background of CEP staff members and the personalized nature of the program attract enrollees who would otherwise not be involved in any training or job-search activity at all. The only other major program which has some of this same quality is the Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC), but the fact that OIC participants do not receive any training allowances makes a substantial difference.

Nonetheless, the chances for marked success of CEP, not too surprisingly, were small from the outset. Many of its activities overlapped with the Training and Employment Service and other agencies, so questions of jurisdictional prerogative soon arose. The cooperating agency representatives outstationed at CEP centers still worked for their old employers supposedly but were subject to the direction of the centers' managers. Poor administrative control or poor staff morale was the almost inevitable result.

Large numbers of registrants with widely varying skills and capacities had to be interviewed, tested, and provided appropriate aid—something that could be done only on a careful, individual case basis. Considerable publicity was issued about the value of the program to participants in terms of jobs and income, but few steps were taken to assure that jobs of any type would be available. In many instances little was done to win the cooperation of major private employers and, except where the prime sponsor was under the control of the mayor, relations between CEP and city government were not close. All in all, the fact that the program actually got off the ground and has stayed aloft is in itself no small accomplishment.

During 1969 and 1970 numerous proposals for strengthening CEP were made, a number of which have been adopted. The most important involved clarification of the responsibilities of the various agencies involved in the program and a tightening of administrative controls. Techniques were introduced for speeding up the referral of clients with special problems, such as drug addiction and alcoholism, to other agencies. Steps were

taken to establish more effective intake procedures, better planning and counseling with respect to the individual's career needs, more adequate jobfinding and job development, and integrated management information systems.[21]

Important as these procedural changes doubtless are, the question of policy orientation and direction remains unanswered. CEP still includes many of the same functions performed by the Training and Employment Service, MDTA Skill Centers, JOBS, OIC, and other agencies; and its place in a community's system of manpower services is still obscure. Aside from the requirement of residence in a target area, a client's entry into CEP seems as hit or miss as admission into the other programs. The basic issue whether CEP should provide most of the training and related services itself or, after providing a few orientation-type aids, refer clients promptly to other agencies for such training and related services remains unresolved. The former approach would entail a considerable duplication of functions and, given present staff and funding limitations, would mean that the CEP centers would have to cut down the number of their admissions drastically. The latter approach, while significantly cheaper in direct outlay terms, would reduce CEP largely to an intake-referral agency, hardly different from the function performed by the Employment Service.

Whether CEP can achieve a distinctive place in community manpower service structures depends on whether a reasonably clear functional area can be found between these two extremes. The best possibility would seem to be for the CEP centers to concentrate on the personal development and basic skill abilities of registrants—a broad enough focus to include several stages in an individual's employability development but not so broad as to include advanced, specialized job preparation. The following questions, however, need to be answered: Why not work to broaden and strengthen the school systems, or perhaps the community colleges, rather than set up alternative "educational" programs in special poverty areas? Similarly, why not broaden and strengthen the Employment Service, the MDTA Skill Centers, and the other manpower service agencies which function along roughly parallel lines?

Responses to these questions would depend on the answers to two more underlying questions. The first is whether the schools, community colleges, Employment Service offices, and other institutions within a community can effectively reach poverty area residents in need of this kind of general career preparation. At present, few would deny that these predominantly white, establishment-oriented institutions suffer serious handicaps in this regard. Justified or not, many poverty area residents feel

[21] *Manpower Report of the President*, April 1971, p. 67.

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nothing but bitterness towards them. Changes in policies and personnel are beginning to bridge this gap, but even under the most favorable circumstances, their effects will be a long time in coming. Until then, the case for a specially designed program along the lines of CEP seems irrefutable.

The second question is whether the particular mix embodied in CEP will achieve both community acceptance and demonstrable results. Each component—substantial poverty; grassroots input into policy and administration; an emphasis on individual, personal treatment; and a combining of various services provided by "outside" agencies at one location—is of value in itself, but whether the outcome is viable when they are put together in a single framework is more questionable. Spokesmen for poverty residents want to see tangible results in terms of jobs and earnings; staff members responsible for an individual's basic career development deal with less tangible factors; outstationed personnel from other agencies view the program in terms of their special professional expertise. Keeping the three elements in continuing balance requires both clearly articulated policies and carefully orchestrated implementation.

The most distinctive feature of CEP is that it is open to poverty area residents who may not qualify, at least immediately, for any of the other major training and development programs. The danger of such a role is obvious: CEP could easily become a dumping ground for the untrainable and unemployable. This would be made all the more likely to the extent CEP's responsibilities are concentrated on the basic, longer term needs of poverty residents, leaving to other agencies responsibility for more immediate training skills. While some safeguards in terms of eligibility requirements and training course offerings would be appropriate, any drastic structural changes would deny the purpose of CEP altogether. There is thus need for an approach which would retain the essential character of CEP but put it on a more solid basis than now obtains.

The most hopeful development in this regard is the increased emphasis being placed on helping poverty area residents get over whatever initial hurdles may be blocking their search for worthwhile jobs. Since these barriers are often personal and individual, stress needs to be placed on careful case treatment; the attempt to deal simultaneously with great numbers of such registrants is almost sure to prove self-defeating. The fact that basic capacities and qualities are involved—the ability to read and interpret instructions, the willingness to accept responsibilities, the desire to achieve economic betterment—underscores the importance of close, step-by-step support. Since the more usual rewards are not likely to come quickly, other forms of recognition and satisfaction must be provided. The use of coaches and counselors personally attuned to the needs of those participating in the program should be encouraged. While this

kind of an emphasis would not yield easily quantifiable cost-benefit results, it would give CEP a distinctive and important place in a community's system of manpower services.

Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has reviewed some of the ways communities might proceed in adapting existing manpower programs to the needs of the disadvantaged. The problem is not so much improved efficiency, more effective control, and the like but rather one of delineating the specific role of each program more sharply and then adapting the various programs to their assigned responsibilities. One such realignment has been sketched out here; others might seem more appropriate in particular situations. The crucial need, however, is for each community to develop an overall manpower strategy which will broaden the training and development opportunities for its disadvantaged citizens. Until this is done, the present haphazard and arbitrary pattern of services will continue to prevail.

IV. Developing Community Public Employment Programs

National manpower policy has largely centered on helping those in special need to acquire the skills they require to find worthwhile jobs. This emphasis was wholly appropriate as long as such jobs were generally available, but by the end of the sixties this basic assumption no longer held. Between 1965 and 1969 the national unemployment rate fell from 4.5 percent to 3.5 percent, but in 1970 it jumped to nearly 5 percent and in 1971 to 6 percent. During 1971 nearly five and one-half million persons were reported out of work; and while the current upswing should reduce the total somewhat, unemployment is not expected to fall below 5 percent in 1972.

The change in job conditions had a particularly adverse impact on persons lacking marketable skills who were current or potential participants in manpower training programs, since many fewer employers were in a position to take on new workers and competition for such openings as there were had become much keener. While staff cutbacks reached up to the higher skill categories, they fell most heavily on the lesser qualified, more recently hired employees.

The two programs which had treated job placement as an integral part of skill development—MDTA On-the-Job Training and Job Opportunities in the Business Sector—became seriously weakened by this change in labor market conditions since both depended as much on job expansion in the private sector as on training subsidies out of public funds. The other manpower programs faced hardly less serious problems as the task of finding job openings for their graduates became more difficult. In these circumstances the shift in attention to jobcreating actions by government was to be expected, the issue being not so much one of principle as of timing, method, and scope.

Government Job Expansion Program

The way for national governments to deal with rising unemployment, in the view of almost all modern-day economists, is to pursue broadly expansionist fiscal and monetary policies: to maintain or increase government expenditures while holding or cutting tax rates on major sources of income and to pump new money into the economy via the central bank and the commercial banking system. The United States government's actions in 1971 and 1972, somewhat unexpectedly, followed this script. Budgetary expenditures in relation to tax revenues yielded big deficits, $23 billion in fiscal 1971 and $26 billion (estimated) in fiscal 1972.

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More importantly, the federal budget position *at full employment* shifted from substantial surplus toward substantial deficit over this two-year period. Similarly, Federal Reserve policies resulted in a very rapid rise in the money stock in the first half of calendar 1971 at an annual rate of increase of 10 percent, and a more moderate but generally supportive rate of increase (about 6 percent) since then. The difficulty was that these measures did not achieve satisfactory results on either the inflation or the unemployment front. The cost of living continued to move up, and unemployment remained at an unacceptably high level. Moreover, the country's balance of payment position, instead of improving in 1971, actually deteriorated at an alarming rate.

In these mixed and frustrating circumstances, what further steps could the government take? The answer came with President Nixon's surprise announcement of August 15, 1971. The principal steps proposed for dealing with the rise in prices were the temporary wage-price freeze and the limitations imposed on government spending; the principal proposals aimed at controlling unemployment were the reintroduction of an investment tax (or "job development") credit (10 percent the first year and 5 percent the second), the elimination of the 7 percent automobile excise tax, the speedup in the $50 increase scheduled in the personal income tax exemption, the suspension of the dollar's convertibility into gold to stimulate exports, and the imposition of a 10 percent temporary surcharge on imports. Even if Congress had accepted all these measures (and some were considerably modified), their effectiveness in checking inflation and reducing unemployment would have been open to question; nonetheless they constituted a sharp break with policies adhered to previously.

The other main approach to controlling unemployment—direct job creation by government action—was not entirely precluded by these policy decisions, but it was thereby assigned a distinctly minor role. Earlier a strong case had been made for a federally financed job program in the public service sector on the grounds that many services were going unmet precisely in the fields in which an abundance of unused manpower was available to undertake them.[1] The jump in the unemployment rate after 1969 gave added strength to this view, and it was this development which finally led the Administration to accept a federally supported job-creation effort designed to help special groups who could not expect to find employment on their own.

In this sense, proposals for a public employment program were but a

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[1]See, for example, Harold L. Sheppard, *The Nature of the Job Problem and the Role of New Public Service Employment* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: The Institute, 1969); and Bennett Harrison, *Public Employment and Urban Poverty* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1971).

logical extension of manpower training and other support services to assist the disadvantaged in finding job opportunities. In a very strong, sustained expansion such groups might be expected to find worthwhile work if only they could acquire the necessary skills; in less vigorous expansions this would not be true, and outright government action to make sure they get job experience would seem much more justified. Despite mounting congressional pressure, the Administration resisted the latter view, contending that the expansion would be strong enough to provide most, if not all, the necessary new job openings. So the program of public service employment which finally emerged was a relatively modest one, and even this was largely enacted in spite of, not because of, the Administration's desires.

Public Employment Legislation

Proposals for public employment programs are anything but new, and prior experience affords a wide choice of approaches from which to fashion a national policy. While hardly comparable, the best known models are the New Deal work-creation program of the thirties and the various programs that have been in existence in a number of European countries for many years. More germane to the present situation, a number of this country's current manpower programs, including the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC), Operation Mainstream, and Public Service Careers (formerly New Careers), provide federally financed work experience for special disadvantaged groups. Communities planning general public employment programs could learn much from analyzing experience under these programs.

The in-school and summer work programs of NYC have a reasonably clear-cut objective: the use of federal funds by local government or nonprofit organizations to provide part-time or temporary work to disadvantaged young people to help them stay in school and develop employable skills. The out-of-school program of NYC is addressed to the much more challenging task of providing full-time work experience in public or private organizations to young people who have dropped out of school. It has proven extremely difficult to find many jobs under the latter program that might lead to worthwhile careers, especially for boys. A concerted effort is now being made to emphasize remedial education, skill training, and supportive services as part of the out-of-school program, with a view to inducing more of the enrollees to return to school or enter a community college.[2]

Operation Mainstream is a small federally financed job program chiefly

[2]*Manpower Report of the President*, April 1971, p. 45.

addressed to the needs of the middle-aged unemployed and older low-income persons in small towns and rural areas. It seeks to provide meaningful work experience which at the same time will improve the local environment through conservation projects, housing rehabilitation, better care for the elderly, and the like. In fiscal year 1970 there were only 18,000 enrollment opportunities in Operation Mainstream as against nearly 500,000 in the various branches of the Neighborhood Youth Corps and 200,000 in the MDTA programs.

In its present form the Public Service Careers program (PSC) concentrates primarily on helping disadvantaged persons secure regular or civil service jobs in public and private nonprofit service organizations by providing funds to cover the added costs entailed by hiring and upgrading the unemployed or underemployed. Such funds can be spent on remedial or other types of education, vocational and personal counseling, skill training, transportation, day care services, and "technical assistance in merit system modernization, job restructuring and design of career ladders."[3] Its predecessor program, New Careers, also utilized federal funds to open up career opportunities to the disadvantaged; in its case private nonprofit organizations as well as public service organizations were involved, funds could be used as wage supplements, and there was no requirement that the jobs had to be regular, permanent positions. While PSC is still in a formative stage, it is already apparent that it faces many problems in getting enrollees into regular positions on promotable tracks.

New Careers has been continued as one of five components of the PSC program. The first of the remaining four components provides state and local governmental agencies with funds to help disadvantaged employees, 17 years or older, overcome barriers to promotion and career advancement. The second, roughly similar component, authorizes the Department of Labor to negotiate agreements with other federal agencies to build PSC projects into their grant-in-aid programs on behalf of public hospitals, school districts, and the like. The third component, also designed along similar lines, seeks to expand the Civil Service Commission's new Worker Training Supplement to the register of persons eligible for maintenance and service worker jobs, thus avoiding a traditional employment examination. Thus, all three of these components apply the JOBS program concept of "hire now, train later" to the public sector.

The fourth and final component of PSC, the Supplemental Training and Employment Program (STEP), was initiated in 1970 in response to the economic slowdown. STEP accounted for about a fourth of the $136 million budgeted for PSC in fiscal 1971. The purpose of this program was to provide additional training and short-term work experience in

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 175.

public or private nonprofit agencies for workers who have completed training programs but cannot be placed in regular jobs. The work experience provided under the program has been mostly in clerical occupations, but it has also included "some positions as teacher aides, motor pool drivers, auto mechanics (in city garages), and nurses aides and orderlies and a few welding assignments."[4]

Preliminary evaluations of the New Career component of PSC have generally been favorable, though fully adequate data are lacking.[5] The main value of the program lies in the fact that enrollees can take advantage of educational and other supports while holding intern positions in education, health, and other human service agencies and—perhaps more important—are virtually assured of a job upon completing the program.

The Public Service Careers program is part of a broader effort to induce local, state, and federal government units to modify traditional hiring procedures and open up jobs above the entry level to persons who cannot meet existing requirements. Among other provisions of the law, the Inter-governmental Personnel Act of 1971 authorized the Federal Civil Service Commission to make grants to state governments for the purpose of increasing the recruitment and development of disadvantaged individuals. During 1969 the Department of Labor, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development authorized the National Civil Service League to spearhead a national effort to facilitate the hiring of disadvantaged persons in state and local government jobs in other than traditional service-type occupations. The League has accordingly inaugurated a program known as Public Agency Career Employment Maker (Project PACE MAKER) under which state and local governments may request teams of personnel technicians from the League to review their civil service systems and recommend ways to remove the legal administrative and psychological barriers to employing the disadvantaged.[6] It is too early to assess the impact of these efforts, but one can see the kinds of difficulties which a program of this sort inevitably faces and the sort of concerted action which is required to overcome them.

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[4]*Ibid.*, p. 42.

[5]Cost-benefit data assembled in a Department of Labor study indicate an average training cost per enrollee of $3,881.50, but based on the total annual increase in earnings of both graduates and terminees, it was estimated that total social benefits would exactly equal program costs in less than 1.9 years after program completion; lacking a control group, this finding is hard to assess. U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration, *National Assessment of the New Careers Program, July 1967-October 1969* (Washington: 1970), p. 104. The other components of PSC were too recently established to permit any systematic appraisal.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 173.

The Emergency Employment Act of 1971

With the slowdown in the economy and the rise in unemployment which began at the end of the sixties, pressure soon rose in Congress to go beyond these limited job-creation efforts. The initial push came from liberal Congressmen who felt that nothing less than a massive public jobs program was required. In 1968 Congressman James G. O'Hara introduced a public employment bill which would have provided one million jobs, with some training, at a total cost of $4 billion the first year, the total to rise in subsequent years. In the same year Congressman John Conyers, Jr., submitted a bill providing for three million jobs at an initial cost of $16 billion per year, the sum to shrink by $2 billion annually thereafter.[7] Neither bill passed.

The next wave of legislative proposals embodied more modest job-creation targets and incorporated some or all of the Nixon Administration's recommendations to decentralize control of manpower training activities and get away from rigid categorical programs. The bill, however, which was finally passed by the House and Senate in 1970 largely reflected the views of Senator Gaylord Nelson and other leaders of the liberal wing in Congress. This bill authorized $9.5 billion over a four-year period for a national, locally planned program of job creation in public service employment and cut out most of the Administration's proposals for turning over authority for manpower training programs to the cities and states. President Nixon vetoed the 1970 bill, chiefly on the grounds that the public service jobs were too likely to become permanent, dead-end sinecures and that the bill failed to decentralize control of manpower policy.

In 1971 Congress once again addressed itself to the public jobs question and decided to separate the public employment issue from the Administration's manpower revenue-sharing proposals. The legislation as finally passed, the Emergency Employment Act of 1971, took account of some of the Administration's criticisms of earlier bills. Still, it was something of a surprise when President Nixon agreed to sign it into law on July 12, 1971.

This legislation authorized the expenditure of $2.25 billion over a two-year period to cover as much as 90 percent of the cost incurred by federal, state, or local government bodies in providing transitional employment in needed public services during periods of high unemploy-

[7]The O'Hara bill was H.R. 12280 and the Conyers bill, H.R. 14493, both submitted in the 90th Congress. See Michael C. Barth and Frank H. Easterbrook, *Work Relief in the Depression, Europe and the Manpower Decade: Some Implications for Programs of Public Employment*, Working Paper #2, Office of Planning, Research, and Evaluation, Office of Economic Opportunity, August 1970.

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ment. Further obligation of funds is to cease if the national unemployment rate falls below 4.5 percent for three consecutive months. Of this amount $500 million is to be used in fiscal years 1972 and 1973 to establish a Special Employment Assistance Program to help cover the cost of public service job programs in local areas in which unemployment has been equal to or above 6 percent for three consecutive months.[8]

Eligibility for entrance into the program is limited to the unemployed and underemployed, a category which includes many others than those who are disadvantaged by reason of income, race, or educational attainment. Thus, the law explicitly provides "that special consideration be given to unemployed or underemployed persons who served in the Armed Forces in Indochina or Korea on or after August 5, 1964 . . . ."[9] In the Act's statement of findings and purposes special mention is also made of those who have become unemployed or underemployed because of technological changes and shifts in federal expenditures in such fields as defense, aerospace, and construction. In light of this broad definition of eligibility, it is hardly surprising that only about 30 percent of the enrollees to date fall in the disadvantaged category, a fact which greatly lessens the significance of the program for this sector of the population.[10]

Another major feature of the legislation is that it provides transitional jobs only, with the understanding that persons given such jobs will be trained and upgraded wherever feasible into permanent employment. This portion of the law was clearly aimed at overcoming one of President Nixon's major objections which he expressed at the time he vetoed the 1970 legislation. At the same time, the Act states that the jobs are "to fill unmet needs for public services in such fields as environmental quality, health care, housing and neighborhood improvements, recreation, education, public safety, maintenance of streets, parks, and other public facilities . . . , etc."[11] The total number of jobs which will be made pos-

[8]Congressional sentiment for broadening the new program led to a proposed amendment introduced by Congressman Henry S. Reuss (H.R. 2011) which would authorize $4.5 billion expenditures over a two-year period, as against $2.25 billion, and further liberalization of the law.

[9]*The Emergency Employment Act*, 1971, 92d Cong., 1st sess., Sect. 7(b) 4.

[10]As of November 30, 1971, 30 percent of all jobholders in the program were Vietnam-era veterans and 35 percent were members of minority groups; these percentages are of course overlapping to a considerable extent.

[11]*Conference Report, Emergency Employment Act*, June 28, 1971, 92d Cong., 1st sess., Report No. 92-310, p. 2. According to the statement of the legislative managers accompanying the Conference Report, the Act ". . . was not to be construed to authorize the removal from a job of any individual after a certain period of time, nor was it to preclude approval of certain types of jobs which were permanent in nature." This point is emphasized by Austin P. Sullivan, Jr., in a paper "Public Service Employment—A Congressional Perspective," to be printed in the *1971 Annual Proceedings of the Industrial Relations Research Association.*

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sible by the Act falls between 150,000 and 200,000, which may be compared with current estimates of total unemployment of well over five million.

Another piece of legislation, the Administration's proposed welfare reform, will also affect community public employment programs if and when it is enacted. Under this legislation, every member of a family on welfare who is found to be available for work would be required to register for suitable work and/or manpower training. As part of the "workfare" requirement, the Secretary of Labor would establish public service projects through grants to public or nonprofit organizations "in fields which would benefit the community, the State, or the United States, by improving physical, social, or economic conditions."[12] The proposed law stipulates that the employment provided by these projects will be aimed (1) at developing the individual's employability through work experience and (2) at enabling individuals to move into regular public or private employment. The Secretary of Labor is directed to provide whatever manpower services and training may be needed for welfare registrants to become self-supporting, particularly any child care services that may be required. It is estimated that the proposal would authorize up to 200,000 public service jobs for employable persons now receiving assistance under the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program (AFDC); there are now about 10 million persons receiving AFDC help, an increase of roughly four million over just the past two years.[13] Under the proposed law, payments by the states are not to exceed 100 percent of the cost in the first year of employment, 75 percent in the second year, and 50 percent in the third.[14]

Choosing a Public Employment Strategy

This body of enacted and proposed legislation marks an important departure in the country's efforts to provide employment opportunities for the disadvantaged and other "hardship" groups, but in its present form it is too limited to have more than marginal effects. Even if all the funds

[12]Report of the House Committee on Ways and Means on H.R. 1 (May 26, 1971), *Social Security Amendments of 1971*, Title XXI, Sect. 2114 (c) (1), p. 347.

[13]*Ibid.*, p. 2.

[14]In announcing the wage-price and other new economic policies on August 15, 1971, President Nixon said that further consideration of his welfare reform plan would be delayed for one year. Another law passed by the 92d Congress, the Accelerated Public Works bill (S. 575), provided $2 billion for public service jobs, but it was vetoed by President Nixon. In his veto message of June 29, 1971, the President said that the new jobs created by the latter bill would be mostly in construction, that they would be long delayed, and that they would not help those experiencing the most serious unemployment—Vietnam veterans, unskilled youth, and those who cannot find work because of lack of training and opportunity.

appropriated under the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 were concentrated on the hard-core unemployed and other socially disadvantaged groups, the amounts would fall far short of meeting their need for useful, remunerative work. Moreover, as already noted, the law covers jobless Vietnam veterans, workers displaced by cutbacks in defense and aerospace expenditures, and those affected by technological changes; also it is as applicable to short-term as to long-term unemployment. Viewed in national terms, these provisions of the new legislation mean that its effects will be much diluted. The impact of the Administration's welfare reform proposals, if enacted, would be confined to the disadvantaged, but even these proposals would have quite limited significance. Thus, the main import of these legislative developments lies in what they may presage for future policy in this area.

These considerations make it doubly important for communities to direct such public employment funds as are available into the most productive possible channels. In doing so, communities face essentially the same questions as those examined in earlier chapters in connection with choosing a manpower policy strategy: Among those eligible for jobs under this legislation, what specific groups and individuals should be selected? Similarly, among the general kinds of work authorized under the new law, what specific jobs should be filled? What wage rates and other conditions of work should be established for these jobs? What training procedures and other support services should be provided? What steps should be taken to enable persons in these jobs to earn promotions and/or secure regular employment? What should be done in the case of those who cannot qualify for promotion after a reasonable trial period? While the law indicates in general terms how these questions are to be approached, each community is given considerable latitude to formulate its own answers. Some of the more important considerations which communities will face in dealing with these questions are reviewed below.

The assumption underlying the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 is that the need to provide both public jobs and public services is presently so great that neither objective will have to be given precedence over the other. In a strictly formal sense this is true; in a typical community there are many persons who would qualify for openings under the program, and there are many areas of public employment in which they could be placed. Under these circumstances it would be altogether possible to handle the matching of applicants and job openings in a strictly mechanical manner. The dangers that would be involved in any such approach, however, deserve emphasis.

First, the very fact that the pool of eligibles is so large means that potential enrollees will vary tremendously in terms of background, ability, and motivation. The same holds for the performance requirements in all

the different jobs appearing on the eligible list; the lesser skill jobs will require little in the way of prior experience and training, but those above this level will call for specialized skills and aptitudes. Unless careful matching procedures are followed, the results will almost surely be unsatisfactory.

Second, the Act specifically limits employment under the program to transitional jobs which, at the same time, will lead to regular work and worthwhile careers. It could be argued in this respect that the Act poses a contradiction in terms: transitional jobs are entry-level by nature and for this reason most unlikely to lead to permanent positions.[15] At the very least it is obvious that the juxtaposition of these two requirements will pose a most difficult policy choice in many communities. Presumably most communities will compromise this issue in some manner, but the issue whether to emphasize entry-level or higher skill positions needs to be faced squarely.

Third, communities will also have to choose between a "middle-class" and a "disadvantaged-class" emphasis in deciding who will be admitted to the program. While the Act, as noted earlier, lays down some general guidelines in this regard, considerable discretion is left to local determination. A number of communities will doubtless conclude that their most pressing public *service* needs center in education, health, police protection, and the like but that their most pressing public *job* needs center in maintenance, common labor, and similar lesser skill occupations. Given the conflicting pressures and requirements that seem likely, the path of least resistance will be simply to put the most readily available bodies in the most readily available slots—an outcome that can be avoided only if communities formulate clearly defined policy objectives and choices.

Practice to date among communities has apparently varied widely on this score. Speaking of the 322 workers to be hired under the program in Philadelphia, for example, the mayor flatly stated: "We feel that the jobs should be at custodial and laborer levels."[16] In the case of New York City, on the other hand, chief emphasis at the outset was placed on teaching jobs and work related to professional fields.[17] In many smaller communities, such as Chester, Pennsylvania, jobs are scattered among a wide assortment of occupations and public agencies with no discernible pattern or plan of action.[18] The likelihood that interagency logrolling or political

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[15]Sullivan (see footnote 10).

[16]*The Evening Bulletin*, August 25, 1971, p. 14.

[17]*New York Times*, August 22, 1971, p. 29. Three thousand jobs are being financed in New York City under the Act.

[18]Chester is authorized to hire 132 persons; the city's present payroll consists of 400 full-time people.

considerations will be controlling where no explicit criteria are developed hardly needs underscoring.

Fourth, the agencies to which applicants are assigned will need to develop effective procedures for implementing the purposes of the law. Specific steps will have to be taken to help the worker become acclimated to his job, to secure whatever additional training and supportive services he might need, and to provide the experience and opportunities necessary for his career development. Presumably most of the jobs will not come under civil service regulations, but the law provides that the basic conditions of work will have to be the same as for the regular employees. Before approving any proposal, the Manpower Administration will have to determine whether the public agency administering it is in a position to fulfill these requirements.

Fifth, in deciding who is to be assigned what jobs, account must be taken of the fact that the law may be short-lived. If, as now planned, the legislation expires in two years, the public bodies receiving grants under the program will have to cut out the jobs or underwrite the cost by other means. This will be a painful decision for any grantee to make, but the impact will be greater on some agencies and occupational categories than on others. More importantly, the adjustment problems will vary considerably, depending on what types of individuals are given work under the program. Careful advance planning and investigation will therefore be essential.

In light of these considerations, communities will face difficult decisions in determining what persons should be given job opportunities and what public agencies and jobs should be brought under the program. Each community will accordingly need to set up some kind of machinery for dealing with these questions. A few cities such as New York and Seattle had laid the groundwork for implementing a public employment program before the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 was passed, but most had not. Unless adequate preparatory steps are taken, results under the program are bound to be disappointing.

Choosing Job Incumbents

In deciding who will be given these jobs, the basic issue which a community will need to resolve is whether it feels the program is designed primarily for those who, while currently unemployed or underemployed, will need only temporary work to get back on their feet. There will be strong pressures to give the legislation this interpretation. After all, the Act is aimed solely at providing temporary work; the target groups, as already indicated, include Vietnam veterans, displaced workers in defense and aerospace industries, workers affected by technological change,

and other groups which include many persons in addition to the hard-core disadvantaged who pose serious adjustment or other personal problems. The chances of workers in this last category ever securing promotions to regular employment may appear remote.

On the other hand, one of the main purposes of the legislation would be defeated if the least skilled, least educated, and least socially favored among the target groups are excluded. These are the very workers who face the most unfavorable alternatives if they cannot get work experience and for whom the public employment program is most likely to be the only chance of getting such experience. While workers from seriously disadvantaged backgrounds face special difficulties in winning promotions and achieving regular employment status, many of these difficulties grow out of examination requirements and other long-standing personnel procedures which are being increasingly questioned. The case for channeling a substantial portion of job openings under the Emergency Employment Act to workers of seriously deprived backgrounds is therefore a strong one.

To the extent that communities move in this direction, allowance will have to be made for the special training needs and other support services which such workers usually require. The Act stipulates that a minimum of 85 percent of the total money appropriated must be spent for wages and benefits of participants, leaving only 15 percent for all other participant costs including skill training, education, supportive services, and administrative costs. This will require communities to achieve close coordination between the public jobs program, existing manpower training programs, and the other major support services in the local areas so that these related needs of participants can still be met.

Communities will be understandably inclined to propose jobs which can be filled by a few large groups of workers with essentially the same kind of skill and background, leading to a concentration of such workers in one or two fields or lines such as health, education, or office-clerical. This would have short-run administrative advantages, but it would carry serious dangers for the program. Such large groupings could easily become cut off from regular agency personnel and thus be put in a second-class position. The task of helping these workers achieve regular employment positions is going to be difficult at best. The entire effort would be greatly facilitated if participants were widely distributed among a variety of fields and departments since this would contribute to individualized attention and support and would increase the chances for their career advancement. At the same time, some form of overall control or monitoring would be necessary to make sure that the purposes of the program are being realized and individual participants are actually getting the experience and supports they need.

Choosing Job Openings

The Emergency Employment Act of 1971 sets forth the kind of public employment jobs which are to be financed by the new program but only in the most general terms. The listing of unmet needs for public services, noted earlier, is extensive but even that is not meant to be exhaustive. The Act stipulates that "to the extent feasible, the jobs are to be in fields most likely to expand within the public or private sector"; the Manpower Administration's program guidelines list 28 occupational lines in this category. The Act also specifies that, while the jobs are to be transitional, they are to lead into regular employment in the public or private sector. The Secretary of Labor is to review periodically the status of each person employed in a public service job under this Act "to assure that if the job does not provide sufficient promotion prospects, maximum efforts shall be made to locate employment or training opportunities providing such prospects . . ." (Sect. 11 (a) Emergency Employment Act of 1971). In addition, the Act specifies that the jobs financed under the program are to result in an increase in employment opportunities over those that would otherwise be available and are not to result in the displacement of currently employed workers (Sect. 12a).

Even though the number of jobs involved will be relatively small, most communities can be expected to interpret these stipulations conservatively. The funding is to be temporary; many of the workers will not meet conventional hiring requirements; problems of adjusting such workers to a new job environment will be difficult at best; the reactions of workers already on the job will be uncertain if not definitely hostile. In these circumstances, as noted above, communities will be strongly inclined to limit the jobs to a few well-defined categories.

Whatever the short-run advantages of such a policy, it would clearly have serious long-run disadvantages. Instead of opening possibilities to regular employment and career advancement, this sort of policy would be more likely to foreclose them altogether. Positions such as janitor, laborer, file clerk, and the like *may* lead to career advancement; but the chances are good that they will not. The fact that the jobs under the program are to be funded only temporarily from federal sources makes it all the more important that they be regarded as nearly as possible as "regular" positions right from the start, thereby easing the transition to permanent employment when the funding period ends.

This emphasis seems altogether appropriate even if most of the participants in a community's public employment program are from extremely disadvantaged backgrounds. Many regular jobs in public services can be filled successfully by persons who cannot meet the formal requirements established for such positions. With the increasing concern over the dis-

crimination which these requirements entail, there is a strong case for directing federally supported public employment programs along these lines. No threat to actual performance standards now in effect would be involved; the sole change would be that ability to do the job would take the place of certain educational, testing, and other requirements. Instead of lowering standards, one wonders if they would not in many instances actually be raised.

A corollary of this policy orientation—and one clearly called for by the new law—is that participants in the program are expected to move ahead in normal career progression. This feature of the government's policy would be negated if the jobs were mostly for strictly nonprofessional personnel such as special aides and others not directly linked to usual promotion tracks. Indeed, the law specifically directs communities to make sure that training help and other supports will be made available to participants so that they can overcome any barriers that might prevent career progression. Since the number of participants even in the largest cities will be relatively few, a well-planned effort to make the work fully comparable to regular jobs should yield tangible results.

Conclusion

As this review of the public service jobs program suggests, experience under the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 will provide a testing ground for revenue-sharing proposals in the manpower and employment field. The states and cities are given wide latitude in determining how the money made available by this legislation is to be distributed. Obviously, the funds are too limited to have a major effect on manpower training programs, let alone overall job trends, in most communities. Nevertheless, the law will bring into sharp focus the question whether local control of training and job funds can be geared into effective communitywide manpower plans as outlined earlier in this report. If the public service job money is treated largely as windfalls to meet a scattering of needs, the case for revenue sharing in the manpower field will be seriously undercut. If, on the other hand, communities use these funds as part of carefully worked out plans for manpower development, the prospects for revenue sharing in the delivery of manpower services will be much enhanced. Every community has a heavy stake in how this question is resolved.

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Appendix Table 1

Characteristics of Enrollees in Federally Assisted Work and Training Programs Fiscal Year 1971

Program	Percent of total enrollees						
	Women	Negro[a]	Age		Years of school completed		On public assistance[b]
			Under 22 years	45 years and over	8 or less	9 to 11	
Institutional training under MDTA	42	39	40	9	12	36	16
JOBS (federally financed) and other OJT	29	43	41	7	17	39	12
Neighborhood Youth Corps							
In-school and summer	45	56	100	—	20	76	37
Out-of-school	49	41	94	—	29	69	37
Operation Mainstream	27	24	5	40	45	30	20
Public Service Careers	63	44	19	20	10	31	20
Concentrated Employment Program	40	60	46	6	16	44	14
Job Corps	26	60	100	0	33	59	36
Work Incentive Program	62	40	27	5	20	43	98

Source: Manpower Report of the President, 1972, p. 59.

[a] Substantially all the remaining enrollees were white except in Operation Mainstream, JOBS, and Job Corps. In these programs, 8 to 12 percent were American Indians, Eskimos, or Orientals.

[b] The definition of "public assistance" used for these figures varies somewhat among programs (e.g., it may or may not include receipt of food stamps and "in kind" benefits). In the NYC program, it may relate to enrollees' families as well as enrollees themselves.

Appendix Table 2

Federally Financed Training and Work Programs
Fiscal Years 1970-1973

(outlays in millions of dollars; individuals in thousands)

Program	Outlays				New enrollees[a]			
	1970 actual	1971 actual	1972 estimate	1973 estimate	1970 actual	1971 actual	1972 estimate	1973 estimate
Total	**$1,871**	**$2,346**	**$3,282**	**$3,953**	**1,832**	**2,117**	**2,318**	**2,292**
Job Opportunities in the Business Sector	136	177	194	176	177	184	136	131
Public Service Careers	18	39	79	46	4	19	30	25
Manpower Development and Training (Institutional)	260	338	353	358	130	164	166	166
Job Corps	144	174	185	190	43	50	53	55
Concentrated Employment Program	164	158	150	140	112	77	69	69
Work Incentive Program	66	91	126	161	87	84	94	106
On-the-Job Training for Veterans	87	117	161	209	70	72	68	68
Veterans Vocational Rehabilitation	53	77	91	108	13	14	15	15
Vocational Rehabilitation	441	523	551	620	411	468	517	558
Social Services Training	50	42	55	57	147	154	162	170
Emergency Employment Assistance	—	—	653	1,088	—	—	160	92
Neighborhood Youth Corps, in-school and summer	194	269	272	357	436	562	583	567
Neighborhood Youth Corps, out-of-school	98	95	112	110	48	53	49	49
Operation Mainstream	42	69	78	80	12	22	22	22
Other programs	118	176	222	253	141	193	194	200

Source: Special Analyses, Budget of the United States Government, Fiscal Year 1973 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1972), pp. 140, 142.

[a] Estimated new enrollees during a year, less overlap due to persons served more than once.